

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL 1912

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON THE CHURCH AND THE POVERTY PROBLEM

THE Church in old days was actively responsible for the care of the poor and needy. The monks in their monasteries taught the children, entertained strangers, nursed the sick and fed the hungry. The Church has, in course of time, converted the State to these objects, and now it is the State which provides schools, hospitals, and means of relief. The provision is complete and intricate. There is hardly any form of poverty which some organization or institution is not established to meet. Millions of pounds are annually spent, and a whole army of agents are employed who work under skilled inspection. But after all has been done, the poverty of the people seems overwhelming. The underfed are evident in the streets; the underclothed suffer and are weakened by cold. Families live anxious lives not knowing when the thin partition which protects them from starvation may be broken. Children do not live out half the days of their childhood, and many of those who do live never taste its joys. The State is spending its millions, and such is still the problem of poverty.

What is the Church—using the term in its large ancient and modern sense, as ‘the body of all faithful people’—what is the Church called to do?

Mr. Lloyd George has lately reminded us that 'Poverty, misery, and wretchedness do not exist in the land because the land is sterile and bare, and does not provide enough for all.' 'The area of poverty fluctuates,' he goes on to say, 'without any fault of the people who endure it, and many suffer largely through the fault of their surroundings.' The Church, obviously, cannot deal with such a problem. As well try to run the army and navy by appeals for voluntary subscriptions as try to get rid of poverty, wretchedness, and bad houses by charity. The Church has not the requisite resources, nor can it supply the necessary administrative ability. 'It is the community alone that can command the resources to drain this morass of wretchedness so as to convert it into a verdant and fertile plain.'

What can the Church do? It cannot itself, as in old times, bear this responsibility. It is not expedient that it should draft Housing or Poor Relief Bills, enter into political propaganda to support one particular measure against another. It is not wise, I would add, for it to become the almoner of charitable funds. That experience has not been happy in East London. Where the clergy have put on this habit of giving, their ministrations have lost respect. The man who takes a dole is never content with himself, he is angry at having received anything and at not having received more, and his neighbour becomes shy of the Church lest he too be suspected of begging. 'Obligation,' it has been truly said, 'is a burden between two people, under which both are restless.' The giver is inclined to be patronizing and the recipient to be resentful. The clergy who are givers of relief frequently fall into a habit of patronizing, which subtly affects even their manner of speech, and has done much to destroy their influence as peacemakers between classes. For myself, as I look back on my life, I think if I were again to have the charge of a parish I would hand over to an independent body every duty connected with relief. I remember with sorrow the

buds of friendship which were nipped both by my gifts and my refusals, and I remember the misunderstanding in which spiritual ministrations became involved.

What, however, is the Church to do if it can neither promote laws nor give relief? Its power, as Mr. Lloyd George says, lies in another direction. It is to guide, control, and direct the consciences of the community, and to establish the moral standards which fix the ideals of the people. It is to make a public opinion whose breath will reach the council chamber, the shop, the factory, and all affairs of life. 'The function of the Church,' in one word, is 'to create an atmosphere in which the rulers of the country not only can engage in reforming these dire evils, but in which it will be impossible for them not to do so.'

Such an atmosphere can be created, Mr. Lloyd George thinks, by two means: I. By rousing the national conscience to a knowledge of the existence of these evils, and to a sense of responsibility for dealing with them. II. By inculcating the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice.

I am disposed to agree that the duty of the Church is to create an atmosphere rather than to engage in great doings, and I would add a short supplement to Mr. Lloyd George's advice.

I. People must know the facts about poverty. A fact, however, is not always easily discovered. A representation of wretchedness on the stage, the lurid description by a missionary, the telling sermon, are sometimes accepted for facts. They are turned over in the minds of the spectators or hearers till they lose their savour, and more sensation is required to produce attention. They were not facts, they were pictures which were not always truth. The discovery of fact, like every other discovery worth making, must be made at some cost, and they who would know the poverty of the poor must get the knowledge first hand. The men and women who reside at settlements have given up much so as to live in crowded industrial quarters,

where they will every day be in touch with poor neighbours, feel the pressure of mean surroundings, and unconsciously learn the secrets of the streets. These facts eat into their daily experience and are worked into their memories. They know in a way they can never forget how the poor live.

The Church, then, if it is to help people to know the facts of poverty, must bring rich and poor into contact. It may seem a Utopian doctrine to preach the duty of the cultured to live amid mean streets. I remember how it seemed when the first proposal for a settlement was made, and how those who made it needed much encouragement. I would, therefore, encourage others to dare to preach the same doctrine, and, at any rate, it should be possible to bring together the members of churches situated in rich and poor neighbourhoods, so that they might be on visiting acquaintance and learn something of one another. The only sure way by which the knowledge of the facts of poverty can enter, is one made by knowledge of the people themselves.

Another way, less good, but much better than that of sensational narration, is for the Church to show the shadow which the facts of poverty throw on life. Rossetti, in a poem, teaches us that evil when it is looked at is apt, like the Medusa's head, to turn the heart to stone. Wise men strike at it by looking at the shadow. There is a dark shadow on England which is thrown by the fact of poverty. If that shadow were shown as it lies across the Churches, chilling many of the prayers and taking the reality out of the Christian profession; if it were seen as it confuses the outlook of honest business men in their relations with work-people, and as it shakes the home with the panic of suspicion, there would be more earnest desire to discover the facts which reach so far and are so powerful. The Church, without telling the tales of evil and sorrow which may turn hearts to stone, might so trace the shadow on the face of society that the people will seek for themselves the fact from which it falls.

There is, however, still one other way which the Church might use which it has in part neglected, the way of statistics. The statement of comparative figures, a carefully-worked-out poor man's budget, the proportion of property owned by the rich class to that owned by the poor class, the mortality among infants and children, the deaths by accident in industrial occupations, the waifs and strays picked yearly off our streets, the workman's average wage, the number of children whose education is stopped that they may work in factories and mines—these and such-like figures are eloquent beyond words. Few members of a Christian Church could hear them and not be moved to force their way into greater knowledge of the facts of poverty.

When the knowledge is gained, then it is for the Church to bring home to every member of the community the sense of responsibility. The nation has been well defined as a spiritual whole. Its citizens are joined together for their mutual support, and for a great common purpose. United they stand and united they fall; if one suffers all suffer. If one through ignorance or selfishness contributes to the making of bad laws or to the increase of lawlessness, if one through idle words tends to lower the public opinion which in a free country is the final arbiter, then the nation has less power to make its citizens strong and less power to perform its mission to humanity. The Church, in a self-governed nation, cannot keep itself apart. It is not a caste or a sect or a club with limited responsibility, and its members cannot consistently concern themselves only with the worshippers using their own peculiar doctrines and ritual, and remain indifferent to neighbours whose thoughts and acts must closely touch their interests. The Church has thus a duty to the whole nation, so that the citizens may fulfil their calling as part of a spiritual whole.

The Church is in a very real sense the guardian of patriotism, fanning national self-respect to greater force when it

suffers dishonour because its citizens are weakened by poverty or ignorance, restraining national pride when it becomes arrogant or boastful, and inspiring national ambition with higher ideas of service. When, therefore, facts so dishonouring to the nation as wretchedness and degradation are understood, and they are traced either to unequal laws or to the need of law, or to lawlessness, then it is for the Church to bring home to each citizen the sense of his responsibility. There are laws, like some of those affecting property, which encourage greed to be tyrannical, and there might be laws which would make slums impossible and raise everywhere the standard of health; there are customs and manners, approved by public opinion, which emphasize inequality, keep up signs of division between classes and limit happiness, and there might be customs favouring equality which would spread pleasure in widest commonality; there is a belief in force, founded often on careless talk, which embitters the relation of industry, and there might be a belief in courteous consideration and meekness which would make peace; there is a fashion of lawlessness evident in all classes which threatens to introduce a tyranny destructive to progress, and there might be a patient obedience to law which would secure the progress well defined as 'order in motion.' But without further examples, it will be admitted that much of the suffering, the wretchedness, and the poverty may be traced to the laws, customs, and habits under which people live, and for which the people themselves are responsible. When, then, in sight of such wretchedness the cry for reform is raised, and men ask 'Who is to be blamed?' 'What Government?' 'What class?' the Church in the old words has to say to each citizen, 'Thou art the man.'

The teaching will not be popular. Individuals in these days are apt to hide themselves from reproach by becoming members of great associations or combinations whose interests absorb their hopes. Workmen want to see Trade Unions

supreme, employers protest that capital must be master in its own house, and Socialists seem chiefly concerned for Socialism as a system to benefit one class. The teaching which puts the nation above any single interest, and humanity above even national interest, will never be popular. When the teaching goes on to show that class cannot throw the blame on class, that both workman and capitalist are responsible for much of the loss from which all suffer, then again there is resentment. The Church, in the present as in the past, cannot be popular as it preaches of an association greater than any one of man's making, and as it throws on each individual the responsibility for the poverty and wretchedness by which his neighbours are crushed out of the joy and strength of their manhood.

II. The second way which Mr. Lloyd George suggests by which the Church may make an atmosphere is by inculcating the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice. The Church's one foundation is Jesus Christ, and it must always hold up the Figure from whom new powers of sacrifice reach humanity. But while it preaches Christ, it will also have to give some guidance as to the new forms of sacrifice required by new times. The Church has often identified sacrifice with gifts of money, and it has raised mighty sums. But giving is not always the sacrifice which is required, and sometimes, indeed, is not sacrifice. Money subscribed in response to sensational appeal, or conjured out of the giver by the arts of advertisers, is not the sacrifice which is drawn by the contemplation of the Cross of Christ. And money gifts which in former generations successfully reached other needs do not so surely reach the needs of people whose relations to one another have become more complex, and whose individual characters have been greatly developed. Charity must have a larger meaning than almsgiving, and sacrifice imply more than a gift. The time is ripe for a change. The self-sacrifice of to-day, though it be measured by sums of money unrivalled in old times, does not make a glow in the

heart of the giver, and sometimes rouses scepticism in the minds of onlookers. Popular self-sacrifice can hardly be said to make the atmosphere in which politicians would be bound to legislate for the needs of the poor. The Church, again, has before it a hard task, as it takes away the satisfaction of those who raise mighty sums of money, puts a limit on the thanks offered to those who give money, and encourages new forms of sacrifice for others' needs.

Such new forms may, I think, be found in the way of study and in the way of self-subjection. By study the triumphs of modern life—its comforts and its wealth—have been won. No business man expects to succeed except by the close application of his mind and by keeping awake to every change. The most valuable asset in the country is the thought which is expended on its business and on its scientific discoveries. The asset is so valuable that people are tempted to retain all their thought in the service of their comfort and their pleasure—they give much study for these ends, they rise early and go late to bed, they wear out their bodies to make money and find excitement; but they do not take like pains to improve the condition of the people. They give their thoughts for themselves, they give only their money for others.

The Church, inspired by the sacrifice of its Lord, has to lead the people to give their best, and be as earnest and as serious in the study of others' needs as in the pursuit of business or of science.

It must make people think as they inquire into the causes of distress and give study as to what remedies are possible. Opinions about Trade Unions, and dogmas about Socialism, and votes about the policy of poor relief, are not enough. There will have to be much taking of pains if those opinions and votes are to be of any value. There will have to be Economy circles as well as Bible circles in every congregation, and the study of political history will have to go on alongside of theology. The Church en-

lightening and heating the people's powers of sacrifice at the furnace of Christ's love must lead them to give what they most value, and what is most valuable, their study. Good intentions without knowledge have again and again hindered growth, and knowledge is only possible by study.

Self-subjection is another form of sacrifice which may, I think, be more frequently preached. 'Why does charity sometimes fail—and rouse resentment?' 'There is often so much self in it.' 'Why do many generous givers to the poor object to the payment of a tax or rate? Why do so many honourable men and women feel justified in escaping the taxation necessary for the nation's welfare and defence?' 'They dislike to subject themselves.' Self-assertion takes many forms, but wherever it appears it is corrupting. It makes the giver of charity unconsciously patronize the recipient till the very name becomes hateful, it lurks about the steps of visitors to the homes of the poor till visits provoke servility and untruth, and it rouses resentment in the hearts of people when they are compelled to pay taxes for pensions, for sanitary improvements, or even for national defence. The people who are ready to give as they like rebel against the compulsion which puts constraint on their self-assertion, they grumble as if they had been treated unfairly, and think it right to cheat the law so as to escape payment. But the needs of the poor—as we have seen—can only be met by the taxation of the rich, and no freewill offerings will avail to secure the conditions necessary to health and to happiness. Self-subjection must be preached so that taxes may be cheerfully paid. The familiar text may, indeed, in the light of modern needs, be read as 'God loveth a cheerful tax-payer.'

Self-subjection, humility, or lowliness of heart have always been placed among the highest Christian virtues. They have fallen into disrepute during the years when popular opinion has done honour to strong action, and politicians have taken credit for not 'lying down' under reproach.

The Church, it seems to me, has much leeway to make up, so that in season and out of season it must preach against self-assertion and call for the sacrifice of self-subjection. Self-assertion or pride makes an atmosphere fatal both to peace and to healthy social reform. Nations, sensitive of their own dignity, are alienated by suspicion. Labour and capital are kept apart quite as much by want of mutual respect as by economic causes. Any appearance of patronage embitters the relations of neighbours. Reforms urged in the name of rights are apt to end in putting one selfish class in the place of another selfish class.

If the duty of the Church is to make an atmosphere in which it will be impossible for Governments to forget the poor, and which will give them strength to carry through measures of social reform, it must set in the very front of its teaching and practice the doctrine of self-subjection and humility. The sacrifice which God desires is always that of a broken spirit, and the High and Mighty who inhabiteth eternity still finds His place in the humble heart.

The Church might, as Mr. Lloyd George says, meet the needs of the situation. It has a hold on men's consciences, and it can bring to bear a force such as is wielded by no other body political or social. In past generations its strength may have been dissipated in rivalries about details of difference, but there are many signs that a unity is now being recognized in which differences have a place. The question is whether, in face of the dangers from poverty, the Church, inspired by communion with its Lord's eternal sacrifice, will use its force to keep open the window through which people may look and see the poverty in which their neighbours are living, and, further, hold up modern ideals of sacrifice so that all who call themselves Christians may serve their neighbours' needs with generosity, with judgment, and with self-subjection.

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EUCKEN ON CHRISTIANITY

Können wir noch Christen sein? von RUDOLPH EUCKEN.
(Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1911.)

The Truth of Religion. By RUDOLPH EUCKEN. Translated
by W. TUDOR JONES, Ph.D. (Williams & Norgate,
1911.)

Life's Basis and Life's Ideal. By R. EUCKEN. Translated
by ALBAN G. WIDGERY. (A. & C. Black, 1911.)

The Problem of Human Life. By R. EUCKEN. Translated
by WILLISTON S. HOUGH and W. R. BOYCE GIBSON.
(T. Fisher Unwin, 1909.)

ARE we still Christians? The question was asked by Strauss in his *Old and New Faith* in 1874 and was answered by a vigorous No! By this was meant that 'we'—including himself and those who accepted the positions laid down in his *Life of Jesus* and subsequent books—had relinquished all profession of Christianity, as well as all belief in a personal God and immortality; they only retained religion in the sense of acknowledging 'absolute dependence on the universe,' whatever that might mean. To this same question Prof. Eucken of Jena has lately returned an equally vigorous Yes! His answer in the closing sentences of a volume published at the end of last year¹ is 'that we not only can, but are bound to be Christians,' always provided that Christianity is understood as an historical movement still in mid-course, and that it be delivered from its stiff traditional and ecclesiastical limitations and placed upon a freer, broader basis. Such process of deliverance he considers to be the great task of the present and the ground of hope for the future.

Much water has flowed under the theological bridges

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 236.

between 1874 and 1912, and it seems worth while to inquire into the significance of the change from the sceptical and materialistic eighth decade of the nineteenth century to the bold theological reconstruction proposed in the second decade of the twentieth. Or rather, it is very desirable to inquire into the exact meaning of the utterances just quoted from Prof. Eucken. What this or that average German professor thinks of Christianity does not matter very greatly to the world; it may be that there are as many opinions as professors. But Eucken has a European, not to say world-wide, reputation; thousands of devoted disciples wait for his utterances, and a still larger audience is deeply interested in all that he writes. He shares with Bergson the repute of being the most truly 'alive' of all living thinkers on the Continent; and he has dealt at length, as Bergson has not, with the deepest problems of religion. Especially since he gained in 1908 the Nobel literary wreath of honour, he is eagerly read in every country and in most languages of Europe as the philosopher best able to shed light upon the religious unsettlement and restlessness of our age. He not only thinks, he can speak; he has a message to deliver, and, especially on such a subject as Christianity, it is important for all thoughtful Christians to listen to it.

I

It is impossible to understand Eucken's attitude towards Christianity without having some general idea of his philosophical position. This is happily now not difficult; for, in addition to his main, carefully constructed treatises, he has published a number of shorter, popular expositions, most of which have been translated into English. His leading works are: *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker* (1890), now in its ninth edition, translated into English under the title mentioned above, *The Problem of Human Life*. It contains a history of the leading philosophies

of life from Plato to the present time, and substantially furnishes a history of philosophy from Eucken's own point of view. *Die Grundlinien einer neuen Lebensanschauung* (1907), one of Eucken's chief constructive works, has been well translated into English, with an interesting introductory Note, by Mr. Alban Widgery, under the title *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal*. The book which the author himself describes as his main work is *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* (1901). It has had a large sale in Germany, and a translation by Dr. Tudor Jones was issued last autumn, with the title *The Truth of Religion*. It is a great gain to have this book accessible to English readers, but we are compelled to say that the translation from the English reader's standpoint leaves much to be desired. Dr. Tudor Jones was a pupil of Eucken, and is familiar with all his modes of expression. But his renderings are so near to the German that many of them will hardly be intelligible to readers unacquainted with the original. Prof. Gibson and Mr. Widgery are more successful from the English point of view. But the task of rendering Eucken's chief work on religion was not easy, and a critic who finds fault with Dr. Tudor Jones's English equivalents of some of the author's characteristic phrases may find it difficult to improve on them. One important work, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart* (1904), a third edition of an earlier treatise, has not been translated into English. The Jena philosopher is, however, probably best known in this country through the friendly mediation and interpretation of Prof. W. R. Boyce Gibson, now of Melbourne, who has written a very interesting account of Eucken's life and work and has translated some of his lighter and more popular books. We may mention *Christianity and the New Idealism* (Harper) and *The Meaning and Value of Life* (A. & C. Black), both translated by Dr. and Mrs. Gibson, and *The Life of the Spirit* (Williams & Norgate), translated by Mr. F. L. Pogson.

Prof. Eucken's visits to London and Oxford last summer

brought him into personal contact with many English admirers; and his brief lecture on 'Religion and Life' then delivered, which can be read in half an hour, contains more food for thought than a score of more pretentious volumes. The book named first on our list, *Can we still be Christians?* has not yet been presented in an English dress, though a translation is promised shortly. It gives in popular form the author's conclusions as to Christianity previously declared in the more sustained exposition of his doctrines. To justify the question propounded in the title, Eucken describes the present position and claims of Christianity and the objections and difficulties in the way of its acceptance raised in modern times. The chief arguments here employed will meet us again, but he closes by pointing out what seems to him to be the impossibility of reform within the pale of what may be called ecclesiastical Christianity, and the inevitable necessity of a complete re-construction of its theology in the light of modern knowledge. Prof. Boyce Gibson says in one place: 'Eucken's philosophy is essentially a Christian philosophy of life; a re-statement and development in philosophical form of the religious teaching of Jesus.' Whether that is so or not depends on the meaning of the word 'Christian.' In what sense Eucken understands it, we proceed to inquire.

II

Eucken's contribution to the philosophy of religion may be divided into three parts. First, he lays stress upon Life as a whole as the proper subject-matter of philosophy. He is in sympathy with William James, Bergson and others in their protest against the excessive intellectualism which has dominated philosophy: human life must be viewed as a whole—intellectual, emotional, practical, social and individual—and the study of the whole reveals Life Spiritual as the paramount factor. In the light of this alone can

human life be understood and its deepest problems solved. Secondly, he shows that in this life of the Spirit lies the groundwork, the evidence, and the justification of Religion properly understood. Man is born a part of nature and above nature, and a study of Spiritual Life proves that religion is a fundamental, universal, and permanent element in human life. But, thirdly, Universal Religion must be distinguished from 'Characteristic' religions, and Christianity is selected as the highest type of religion known. Eucken at the same time defends and keenly criticizes it, as the best guide at present to a solution of life's problems, provided always that it be not presented in its traditional form, but be freed from what he considers unworthy and disfiguring accretions, in which case it will prove valuable as one stage in the advancement of mankind towards that Absolute Spiritual Life which is the goal of all true progress.

With the earlier stages of this great argument we are not now chiefly concerned. Suffice it to say that in our judgement Eucken's powerful presentation of the conflicts, the unrest, the religious contradictions and difficulties of our time, is fully justified by the facts. The condition he describes is more characteristic of Germany than of Britain and America; but the need of a surer foundation for religion, such as all reasonable men, representing philosophy, science, morals and art, as well as religion, may accept and ought rationally to accept, is very great. Whether the foundation which Eucken lays is broad enough, and firm enough, to command general agreement, remains to be seen. It is enough that he has made a bold attempt to find a true groundwork for Religion as covering the whole of life, and providing the only satisfaction for the hopes, fears, aspirations, struggles, efforts and needs of men as spiritual beings.

Religious readers will not find it difficult to travel a stage further with Eucken, as he points out the failure and

inadequacy of alternative 'Life-Systems' or 'Views of Life.' (These unsatisfactory English phrases must perforce stand for *Lebens-system* and *Lebens-anschauung*, unless 'Philosophy of Life' be considered a better equivalent.) Eucken considers the alternatives presented by 'Naturalism,' 'Intellectualism,' 'Immanent Idealism,' 'Socialism'—in his own sense of the term—and other prevalent systems which present each its own characteristic view of the facts of life and their significance. He weighs each in the balance and finds it wanting. Further, he considers that even Religion, as it has hitherto been presented, coming with authority as if from the skies and bringing a message from a Higher Power to which obedience must unquestioningly be yielded, has lost its practical hold on men. The modern man cares for this world, not for the next; he is gaining knowledge of nature and mastery over nature, and a message as if from God on high has little meaning for him, the axioms on which such religion used to rest being no longer admitted. 'Religion in the traditional, ecclesiastical form, despite all it has effected, is for the man of to-day a question rather than an answer. It is itself too much of a problem to interpret to us the meaning of life.' Another firmer foundation for it must be secured.

The basis laid down by Eucken is the Independent Spiritual Life, world-pervading and world-transcending, which he describes and expounds in all his books from almost every conceivable point of view. It means as Mr. Widgery expounds it that 'the individual shares the self-conscious, or otherwise expressed, the spiritual life which transcends nature, the individual and society. . . . Unless goodness, truth, beauty and all tendencies leading to them are self-consciously experienced they have neither meaning nor value; viewed universally, they presuppose the Independent Spiritual Life. . . . Remembering that life is fundamentally self-conscious or spiritual, it may be said that life's basis and life's ideal is life itself—life completely self-conscious

and following out its own necessities.¹ It may be shown, says Eucken, that man at the same time belongs to nature and is above it, or is steadily growing above it, that the 'spiritual life with its reality surrounds man not as a mere environment of his; it attains in him as a whole an immediate present moment and becomes with its infinity his own life and nature. . . . It could never arise against the power of nature if it were no more than a purely human thing. . . . Transformations in the Whole could only arise out of a Whole.'²

The doctrine here sketched is a form of Idealism, and it might, as has been suggested, be more correctly called Spiritualism, were that name not already attached to a doctrine of another kind. It is akin to what is known as Vitalism, but Eucken's own name for his theory is Activism. He objects to a Rationalism which forms a mere thought-world of abstractions on the one hand and to an historical Relativism which denies all stability and permanence on the other. He lays stress upon active life in progress as the material of philosophy; the very principle of personality depends on our own acts and deeds, being indeed the result of a vital process and consummated only through the spiritual energy of that process.

In this progressive autonomy of the spiritual life in man, which is at the same time immanent and transcendent, Eucken finds the groundwork of religion. It implies a new world. 'Religion holds up before us, over against the surrounding world, a new kind of existence, a new order of things, and divides reality into different provinces and worlds.' It 'rests on the presence of a Divine Life in man; it unfolds itself through the seizure of this Life as one's own nature. Religion subsists in the fact that man in the inmost foundation of his own being is raised into the Divine Life and participates in the Divine Nature.'³ Above all else,

¹ *Life's Basis*, p. xii.

² *Truth of Religion*, pp. 158, 159.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 187, 206.

religion is the energetic longing to maintain the Spiritual Life as a whole and to carry it through in the midst of seemingly insuperable obstacles. Such is the nature of Universal Religion; the rise of 'characteristic'—or, as they are generally termed, 'historical'—religions will be traced later.

We have no intention of criticizing this part of Eucken's work, but some questions arise which cannot be wholly ignored. What is meant by 'Independent Spiritual Life,' as being at the same time within and without human history? Within that history we can understand the name as an abstract description of all the highest life of humanity, in science and in philosophy, in art and in morals, as well as in religion; though it is only by a kind of superhuman effort that we gain a standpoint from which we may view these various complex strivings as one whole, and can make any kind of consistent statements based on so broad a generalization.

But the Spiritual Life *outside* humanity, yet working within it to elevate and purify human nature, what of that? That means—God. What does Eucken understand by that sacred name? For here lies the great problem of the philosophy of religion, unsolved by any Hegelian theory of the Absolute, or by T. H. Green's 'Eternal Self-consciousness,' or by the 'Pluralism' of William James and others, recently discussed afresh by Dr. James Ward in his able Gifford Lectures of 1910. Eucken's exact position here is not easy to define. In one place, when speaking of 'this new reality and this whole to which the course of the movement trends,' he describes it as 'a direction rather than a conclusion that is offered to us in this matter.'¹ Elsewhere he writes: 'The idea of God is that which brings to expression the characteristic properties of religion and which makes the main striving of religion palpable'; and by 'God' he understands 'Absolute Spiritual Life in its grandeur above

¹ *Life's Basis*, p. 135.

all the limitations of man and the world of experience—a Spiritual Life that has attained to a complete subsistence in itself and at the same time to an encompassing of all reality.’¹

But is the Absolute a self-conscious Spirit, or is it the impersonal spirit in all spirits, or is it a goal towards which finite spirits endlessly strive? Does ‘a spiritual life that has attained’ a complete self-subsistence mean that God only realizes Himself in and through the progress of finite spirits, through what is described elsewhere as ‘the creation of self by self’? The question, Is God personal? is not to be evaded, but Eucken hesitates in his answer. He is no Pantheist, either of the Spinozistic or the Hegelian type, but he is terribly afraid of ‘anthropomorphism,’ and apparently shrinks from the position of pure Theism. ‘An unconditional affirmation of the personality of God,’ he says, is undesirable. ‘Therefore it may be recommended as a scientific expression of the fact, not to transplant the expression ‘personality’ to the Absolute Life, or at the most not to employ it as more than a symbol.’ And he suggests the use, in reference to Universal Religion, of the term ‘the Godhead,’ rather than ‘God.’ But clearness and certainty here are of the first importance. There is only one Absolute Religion, for ‘characteristic,’ i.e. ‘historical,’ religions are only moments, or factors, in the progress towards the Absolute. But our whole judgement of these historical religions, and of actual spiritual life in humanity, depends upon our conception of that Absolute Spiritual Life, of which Eucken hesitates to say that it is personal. We must not labour the point now, but we cannot help noting, before we pass on, that Eucken exhibits in his doctrine of the Absolute that fundamental and fatal vagueness which characterizes Hegel, Green, the brothers Caird and other Idealists, when they are describing the relation between

¹ *Truth of Religion*, pp. 208, 209.

finite spirits and that Infinite Absolute Spirit, who for them is

He, They, One, All; within, without;
The Power in darkness whom we guess,

rather than the One living and true God.

III

Christianity is for Eucken not the Absolute Religion, but the highest of all historical religions. These latter 'do not grow in a calm kind of way from the ordinary work of thought, but appear as an entirely new beginning in great personalities, who, as mediators between the Godhead and the world, announce the will of God to humanity and establish a closer communion between the Godhead and humanity.' Parseeism, Judaism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism are instances of 'characteristic' religions, though the precise content of the message and the mode of communion with God vary in each case. Their relative worth is determined by 'the kind of life they reveal; what they make of the life-process; how through the relation to an absolute life they evolve the life-process to a higher stage.' Each religion in its own way 'gathers, builds and brings the scattered elements of human life into a whole,' illustrates their significance by a light of its own, and ushers man into the presence of 'a new kind of world.'

Christianity is the highest of all; it has exercised most deep-reaching influences on the course of history; in the first place by implanting a new vitality in an exhausted humanity; 'then in the Middle Ages it worked to the education of a new race; and now that it has become mature, it has not ceased to exercise strong, though quieter, influences. Considering all the facts, Christianity appears as the most powerful force in the life of history.'¹ It is distinguished from the rest, and stands unique as 'an ethical

¹ *Life's Basis*, p. 7.

religion of redemption.' It unites life to a supernatural world and subjects our existence to its supremacy, but it does not do this by way of law, like Judaism and Zoroastrianism, but through a message of redemption, 'a transformation and elevation of human life through an intimate entrance of the Divine.' Esoteric Brahmanism and Buddhism are religions redemptive of a kind, but theirs is an intellectual redemption, while Christianity is ethical. Buddhism offers emancipation from the illusions of sense, Christianity from moral evil; in Buddhism the very basis of the world is evil, and nothing but deliverance from individual existence will suffice. Christianity ascribes evil to a perversion of that which is in itself good, and does not seek to eradicate natural impulses so much as to ennoble and transform them. Especially has it 'laid bare the infinite perplexities in the soul of man in regard to his relation to the world, it has taken up suffering into the centre of life, not to perpetuate it, but to rise above it by the revealing of a world of spirit and of love. . . . In reality, it unites the negation and the affirmation, flight from and renewal of the world; the deepest feeling of, and the happiest deliverance from, guilt and suffering, and thereby it gives to life a greater breadth as well as a ceaseless activity in search of its true self. . . . It establishes a new community of life, which through the building-up of an invisible kingdom of God—which wins a visible expression in the Church—becomes to man in faith and hope a most certain presence. Christianity has revealed a new world, and through the possibility of sharing in it, conferred upon human nature an incomparable greatness and dignity, and upon the work of life an intense earnestness and a real history.' These sentences, selected from Eucken's own words in one or other of his chief works, give some idea of the full and rich exposition of Christianity as a religion which in all his writings he delights to give.

But we must distinguish. There is in the Christian religion what Eucken calls a Substance, and a merely

Existential form. These expressions are commonly used by Eucken to mark the contrast between the eternal, permanent essence and the actual transient embodiments of a religious principle. Thus we find him saying: 'On the one hand, Christianity in the nature of its Substance appears as the highest embodiment of absolute religion; and on the other hand, a fundamental revision of its traditional existential form has become absolutely necessary.'¹ The eternal element is bound up with inferior elements which bear the imprint of a special age, to which we must refuse to bind ourselves. Such a discrimination between the permanent and the transient in a religion is, however, a very delicate operation, and we must watch very closely the methods of any critic who undertakes to separate the two. The following is a brief summary of Eucken's description of the Eternal and the Transient in Christianity, as given in Part V, chapters xv and xvi, of his *Truth of Religion*.

The union of the human and the divine is a characteristic feature of Christianity, but the doctrine of two natures in the one Person of Christ is untenable, the contradiction implied in 'the Founder as one who is at the same time man and God' is utterly irreconcilable. Further, dogmatic Christianity, which 'in its doctrine of the bodily resurrection of Jesus has planted miracle in the very nucleus of religious belief' is quite misleading. And this for two reasons. All belief in sensuous miracle must be surrendered as involving 'a break in the order of nature,' and further, no historical fact can be an essential part of religious faith; faith contemplates only the timeless, and must not be 'externalized' by being entangled with events of history. The whole Christian doctrine of mediation in the work of human salvation is viewed as 'a crass anthropomorphism.' It injures man's direct relation with God and restricts the union between the human and the divine to one special instance. 'Religion cannot have more than one centre;

¹ *Truth of Religion*, p. 539.

either God or Christ stands in the centre and the one consequently represses the other.' The Christo-centric attitude must be therefore given up. No doubt a man may be a great help to his brother men in their upward path towards God; and Jesus inaugurated a new epoch by being the first and foremost to bring eternal truth to the plane of time, and He is for us 'the sole standard of the religious life.' He is 'not the mere bearer of doctrines, or of a special frame of mind, but He is a convincing fact and proof of the divine life, a proof at which new life can be kindled ever anew.'

Other leading doctrines of historical Christianity fare no better at Eucken's hands; they belong to that 'existential form' which must be got rid of if the Substance of the religion is to do its work for men. The notion of the death of Christ as an atoning sacrifice for sin must be entirely relinquished, but 'the conflict with suffering, particularly its inner conquest, becomes the principal aim of effort. In this spirit, Christianity can exalt the despised Cross into its symbol, and direct thought and meditation continually toward suffering, without falling under the latter's power.' The doctrines of the Trinity, and of Christ as Eternal Son and Eternal Word, disappear. The current doctrines of Christianity as to the creation and fall of man are, according to Eucken, in direct conflict with modern knowledge, though he allows that the principle of evolution itself is not inconsistent with Christian teaching, only with certain forms of evolutionary theory. The whole conception of rewards and punishments is out of place in the life of religion; and the Christian doctrine of a future life, and of a judgement-seat, with its pronouncement of eternal blessing or condemnation, is little more than mythological.

IV

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Eucken announces a reconstruction of traditional Christi-

anity as absolutely necessary, and does not look for such within the pale of existing churches. For a fairly liberal Christian of to-day, as he reads the account of the doctrines that must be given up, will naturally ask himself what is left. The Trinity, the Fatherhood of God, the Incarnation, Miracles, the Atonement, the Resurrection—if these are fables, what remains as truth? The answer would seem to be: The teaching of Jesus concerning the spiritual life of man, and the inspiration afforded by the sublime spectacle of His self-sacrifice and spiritual victory over pain and death. Eucken distinguishes between the belief of Jesus Himself and the belief of the Christian community in Jesus Christ. The former is evidently to him the true gospel—‘The proclamation of a kingdom of love and peace, the joyous trust in the nature of man as grounded in God, the invitation to all to a share in the great enterprise and feast.’ The gospel of Paul, of the Apostles, and of the Christian Church for two thousand years, in which ‘suffering is taken up into the Godhead’; man is wholly dependent upon a miracle of undeserved grace; the Divine Life descends deeper into the soil of humanity, and religion is raised far above all ordinary life and existence, is evidently, in the eyes of the philosopher, either dangerous or foolish. It involves the dangers of ‘a darkening of life and of falling into a blind devotion and into a mythological mode of thinking.’ When Christianity has passed through the fine sieve which Eucken provides for it, the ghostly residuum left may serve as a spiritual philosophy—it has certainly ceased to be a religion.

Three kinds of changes, we are told,¹ are specially necessary in the form of Christianity as it exists to-day: (1) The representation of the world found in the older form of Christianity is utterly untenable; (2) the whole movement of modern life has made us feel that the realities with which traditional religion has to do are far too insignificant and narrow; (3) the attitude of current Christianity is

Life's Basis, pp. 383, 384.

predominantly passive and negative, showing 'a strong tendency to depreciate human nature and to leave the salvation of man entirely to God's mercy. . . . What is needed is a thorough-going reconstruction which shall emphasize the importance of action and joyousness in Christian morality, without in any way weakening the opposition to all systems of natural morality based on the rights of force.' The Old and the New conceptions, therefore, we are not surprised to read, 'do not appear as a More or Less between which some kind of a Mean may be found, but they appear as opposites in their main tendencies.'¹ If the doctrine of mediation, of salvation through Another, which in the view of the old theology constituted 'an indispensable entrance to the Godhead, appears to the new to be only a diminution of the Divine and a weakening of the fundamental process of religion,' how is any mutual understanding between old and new to be reached, or any peaceful transition to be effected from the one to the other?

For it will be seen that the complete revolution in traditional Christianity here indicated as essential if we are still to be Christians does not imply merely the relinquishment of such characteristic phases of doctrine as (say) Augustinianism, Calvinism, or Ultramontane Catholicism. Eucken goes further in his rejection of historical Christianity than the modern 'Unitarian'—though it is difficult in these days to define that term, and many Unitarians might accept him as a leader. But Prof. Eucken would appear to be advocating an ethical idealism of a more or less Christian type, rather than a religion in the proper sense of the word. True, he protests energetically against this supposition. He believes in *Umkehrung*, 'conversion' (of a kind), as a necessity. He tells us that the conflict within the nature of man brought about by the exhibition of Christian ideals causes a deep convulsion, out of which springs a new life,

¹ *Truth of Religion*, p. 589.

issuing in a new world; 'and when this has happened, the elevation and transformation become religion.' But it is a conversion from the *kleinmenschlich*, the 'petty-human,' to the *grossgeistig*, the 'heroic spirit,' which regards the Whole not the narrow interests of the individual self. Each man must freely and unconditionally yield himself to these higher ideals of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness.

And here the philosopher becomes vague indeed. He urges that nothing of the energy or depth of religion need be lost in the journey from the old Christianity to the new, though he admits that the prospects of the latter are obscure and uncertain. We need not trouble ourselves concerning the future, since there is so much to do in the present. 'The activism of the present, taken in its deepest sense, has work enough under its very eyes to trace the outlines of a new ideal world in the midst of a perverse generation and immense confusions.' The leader of this new movement, however, is not afraid. He sees in a vision the whole culture of the world dominated by a new religion for which he would retain the name Christian. The two books in which he has dealt most fully with the subject, the *Truth of Religion* and *Can we still be Christians?* both end on a high note of confidence and hope. If only Christianity be understood in the future, as Eucken has expounded it, he is assured that it will enter upon a new career of victory. It will find itself emancipated from the traditional forms and human elements, 'which once seemed to bring the spiritual and the divine so near, but which have now become a burden and a hindrance,' and thus, as time passes, instead of the coming on of old age for religion and for humanity, 'there will be breathed into its soul the gift of eternal youth.'

V

It is an attractive picture, especially as painted by one who is certainly a spiritually-minded philosopher, and

who is acclaimed by some as a Christian seer. If only its forecast were not a mere vision of philosophic imagination and for all practical purposes an empty dream ! Let us see for a moment how this new evangelist, whilst with the best intentions seeking to preserve what he calls ' Substance ' of Christianity, has in reality only shown us how to give up the substance for a shadow.

We hold that Eucken has rendered good service to the cause of religion by his doctrine of the spiritual life in man and his demonstration of its groundwork in the very constitution of humanity. In the life of the spirit—individual and racial—when rightly understood, lies the proof that a higher than human power is at work in human history, and thus in man himself are to be found the evidences of a Life and Power above man. But, as is perhaps to be expected in an idealist philosopher, though hardly in an advocate of Vitalism or Activism, Eucken stops short in abstractions and refuses to recognize the higher power at work as a Personal principle of spiritual life. But the personal element in man—mind and heart and will at their deepest and best—requires a personal God. Religion consists in personal relations; when these are denied or explained away it collapses, like a breaking organism in an exhausted receiver. As William James puts it: ' At a single stroke, Theism changes the dead blank *it*, as also the equally powerless *me*, into a living *Thou*, with which the whole man may have dealings.' Till man has learned in the presence of the universe to say ' *Thou*,' he has not begun to know the living God, and how can such a man ever come to know the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ ? To insist on the personality of God is not of course to restrict the Most High within the limits of finite human personality, but the abstractions of the modern idealistic philosopher do not afford even a foothold for the religious sense to rise from, they yield no Voice in response to the heart of man when it cries out for the living God. A whole heaven separates

the teacher who describes the Absolute Life as 'It' from one who brings man into a personal living Presence.

Further, man not only asks, Does God exist? but What is He? May we use of the Absolute Spiritual Life the word 'holy,' the word 'love'? What kind of revelation of Him, if any, has been vouchsafed? Or is man left to grope his way towards that absolute life which he must not describe as personal, through the age-long strivings—the errors, the confusions, the wanderings and partial self-recoveries—of the spirit of humanity? Sir Oliver Lodge has a fine passage in his description of the relation between science and Christianity in which he says: 'The Christian idea of God is not that of a being outside the universe, above its struggles and advances, looking on and taking no part in the process, *solely* exalted, beneficent, self-determined and complete; no, it is also that of a God who loves, who yearns, who suffers, who keenly laments the rebellious and misguided activity of the free agents brought into being by Himself as part of Himself, who enters into the storm and conflict and is subject to conditions as the soul of it all.'¹ But how is belief in such a God to be reached, and with what right does a Christian propound such a doctrine of God, one that seems too good to be true, so out of harmony does it appear with the inexorable order of nature and the insoluble riddles, the bitter ironies of actual human life?

Eucken would say that these questions belong not to absolute religion, but to 'characteristic' religions. Certainly very different answers have been given to them by the religions of history, and Eucken does not sufficiently indicate why, on his showing, the answer of Christianity is to be esteemed so highly above all the rest, or how it can be indicated as anything more than a transient and imperfect stage in the progress of humanity.

¹ *Man and the Universe*, p. 318.

For Eucken's Christianity admits no doctrine of Incarnation, in the true sense of the word. We do not complain of the fact that he unconsciously misrepresents the orthodox doctrine of two natures in the one Person of Christ, though his language on the subject shows that he has not thoroughly understood it. He believes in a union between the Divine and human in Christ, as in all humanity, but he cannot admit the entire union of God and man in one historical person. He quotes more than once as conclusive, Lessing's well-known and misleading words: 'Accidental truths of history can never become the proof of the necessary truths of reason.' He contends that 'history is encompassed and borne along by a timeless Spiritual Life, which relegates history with all its accumulation to a secondary place.' This depreciation of the historical element in religion brings about its own Nemesis, and prevents the philosopher from finding a solid foundation for his airy structures. He objects to the use of the current phrase, 'the God of the Christian,' as leading to 'a particularism which lies not very far from the belief of a primitive stage of culture in special national gods,' regardless of the fact that for a Christian a Christian idea of God, clearly differentiated not only from the gods many and lords many of idolaters, but from the ideal substitutes for God dear to philosophers, is a paramount necessity.

It is unnecessary to add that Eucken cannot for a moment admit the Virgin Birth of Jesus or His Resurrection from the Dead. All miracle is excluded from his Christianity as 'a violation of nature.' This summary judgement precludes all discussion. How many questions it begs without inquiry, we will not stay to point out. But a definition of 'nature' which preserves the free will of man, his direct communion with a personal God, and prayer as an efficient energy in a spiritual universe, while it explicitly excludes the possibility of divine action in the natural order, is a very difficult one to frame. The presuppositions which lie in

the background of Eucken's philosophy seem to preclude a candid examination of historical Christianity. It may be said that this belongs to the department of criticism, and that a philosopher who is scaling the heavens in fine speculation cannot be expected to loiter on the earth engaged in detailed discussion of historical minutiae. In that case he cannot complain if his empire chiefly extends over castles in the air. But Eucken, in common with some professedly Christian theologians, would dismiss critical questions concerning historical sources as in themselves largely insoluble, and discredit existing records of Christian origins as too closely bound up with incredible assertions of supernatural intervention, in order to build up a new Christianity of ideas. These alone, he thinks, belong to the 'Substance' of religion, these alone can claim to be eternal. He fails to see that so far as Christianity is concerned he is assiduously sawing away at the bough on which he is sitting, undermining the very foundations on which Christian belief rests. This would not be true in the case of a philosophy which is independent of historical relations. But the Christian religion, known as a living force in the history of the world, has its roots thoroughly, though not entirely, in history. The philosopher, who gladly loses hold of history except as a series of stages in the development of thought, finds that he has lost hold also of the human heart and of human life. Eucken tries to protect himself against the dangers of what he calls 'a destructive relativism,' but at points he signally fails. The Christianity which he preaches may be a lofty, spiritual philosophy, but as a religion for a man to live by and die by it is the shadow of a shade.

It would be easy to illustrate in detail this general thesis, but space permits of only one example. Where is to be found the motive power of this neo-Christianity? A religion is worth nothing if it cannot move and actuate men, the many as well as the few. The power which

turned the ancient world upside down was not a philosophy, but a faith. The foundations of this faith Eucken has removed, or he acquiesces in their removal, and it is necessary to ask what dynamic energy he proposes to substitute for the faith that has been lost in thin air. The faith that overcame the world, the faith that through two thousand years has done the work of world-renewal has been faith, not in Jesus of Nazareth as a sacred and heroic figure, but as the Son of God, God manifest in the flesh. As Dr. Fairbairn has said: 'It is the apotheosis which has proved the real or substantive factor of change. It is not Jesus of Nazareth who has so powerfully entered into history; it is the deified Christ who has been believed, loved, and obeyed, as the Saviour of the world.' We are not arguing for the moment that the Christ of the New Testament is a more credible figure as the founder of a religion than the attenuated spectre of 'liberal' Christianity known as 'the Jesus of history,' though we hold that it is true. But a philosopher who propounds a shadowy religion, 'defecated to a transparency,' as an improvement upon faith in the Lord Jesus Christ whom Paul and John preached, and for whom Ignatius and Polycarp and hosts of martyrs lived and died, must be prepared not only with a doctrine which can be analysed in the study, but one which is able to move and regenerate a world.

Eucken has correctly gauged the forces that are opposed to Christianity to-day. He has much to say—and he says it well—of 'the modern man,' what he holds, and what he does not hold, the materialism which so largely rules thought and dictates action, the futility of 'work' as a remedy, the powerlessness of 'culture' at its best. But let it be borne in mind that the objections raised by the modern man are not against the Christian religion merely, they are against all religion. How are such men to be reached and swayed and transformed? How is the slumbering conscience to be touched and quickened? What moral or

spiritual lever is mighty enough spiritually, to move and raise so terribly inert a mass? The new Idealist has, as he confesses, problems enough before him. We honour a man who, like Eucken, sees so plainly the needs of the times, who points them out so vigorously and earnestly, and who does his best to lay the foundations, not merely of ethical, but of lofty spiritual and religious teaching. We are so completely in sympathy with him in one main portion of his doctrine that it is not a congenial, though it is a necessary, task to point out the inadequacy of the rest.

It is said that Christianity as a religion is failing, that in the churches there is at least arrest of progress, and it must be admitted that the fight just now is hard. At intervals in the long campaign the stress of the conflict is more keenly felt, and the outlook becomes dark and threatening, just as from time to time periods occur in which the battle against the world, the flesh, and the devil is more cheerfully fought and victory is more manifestly and easily won. The causes of these fluctuations may often be traced; the path through the long gorge leads out to the light of day, and the valley of Achor proves to be the very door of hope. In any case, it is not for Christians to complain of such tribulation. In the task of overcoming the world they do not expect to swim with the stream, or to march always on level ground. To the discerning eye the signs of our times are not gloomy, though the immediate prospect can hardly be called bright. It would appear that one of those epochs is upon us, when an unusually great victory may be won, provided an unusually great effort is made. The Church of Christ is being led not by easy ways into smooth waters, but it is called on to face great tasks and splendid but exacting opportunities, which will test its fidelity to the utmost. *Per aspera ad astra*. There is a good reason why the darkest hour comes before the dawn.

The one thing Christians cannot afford is to lose heart,

and they will lose all heart if they lose the essence of their faith. The form and fashion of theologies may change, as they have changed in the past; and when they decay and wax old, it is well they should vanish away. Institutions and organizations may change; they must change in a changing world if the work for which they were devised is still to be carried on and to be effective. But the heart of the Christian faith must remain the same. 'Perhaps,' said Prof. Mackenzie at the end of his book on Social Philosophy, 'we want a new Christ.' That is exactly what we do not want. What is wanted is a new Christendom. A speaker at the Edinburgh Conference two years ago said that the reason why Christianity did not make headway more rapidly in India was because it had not yet mastered and moulded Western civilization, and India knew it. That is no reason for arresting missions in India: it is a very good reason for arousing Christians at home. The shadowy Jesus of the new Idealism, with the Absolute Life of the Spirit in the background, as a philosophical substitute for the living God, is not likely to prove a Captain of Salvation for a sinning and perishing world. The Christ of the New Testament is a living Lord, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever, and 'this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.'

W. T. DAVISON.

ITALY AND HER SOLDIERY

ON the 11th of December, 1911, the streets of Naples offered a picturesque spectacle. Young, distinguished, attractive women, gracefully dressed, were everywhere on foot, offering with winning smiles to all *Italian* passers-by the dainty wares which they carried in baskets tastefully adorned with red, white and green Italian tricolour. Their wares had small intrinsic value—merely artificial trefoil leaves, red and white and green, mounted on pins, and mingled with little red-and-yellow cockades; but they were eagerly bought up, at prices ranging all the way from the 800 francs of a rich enthusiast to the ‘soldino’—the ‘little halfpenny’—of an earnest barefoot child; were proudly pinned on the purchaser’s breast, often to the number of two or three; and were displayed with a kind of affectionate pride. Every hackney carriage and every motor-car bore its tricoloured flag, and every tram-car its trophy of a gilded eagle draped with Italian banners, while all along the streets the balconies flaunted the same colours. Before the day was done, you could scarcely meet Italian man, woman, or child—no matter how wretchedly clad—who had not mounted the ‘Trifoglio.’

What was the meaning of it? The noblest and most distinguished ladies of the city, under the direction of the ‘Committee of Help’ and the Italian ‘Red Cross’ Society, had adopted this way of raising funds for the families of Italy’s poorer soldiers, and for her wounded. From early dawn they had been at work, gathering in *Via Depretis* at the offices of the Italian ‘Jubilee Committee,’ whence they were transported in motor-cars to the districts assigned to them, and whither they often returned for fresh supplies of

the 'trefoil.' Not the most squalid quarters, not the filthiest alleys of old Naples were unvisited, and the poorest showed themselves eager to have their part in the patriot offering; the ragged street-urchins clubbed their coppers to buy a 'trefoil.' Perhaps the prettiest incident was when a group of soldiers, accosting a lady, asked to buy the little badge, and she replying 'No—you have already given your lives—from *you* we should take nothing,' a dark young Neapolitan soldier said, 'Take our pence also! we too would help the families of our brethren. Are we not departing for the war to-night? Who knows what may befall *us* also?' They would not be denied; and when they had pinned on their badges the high-born dame and the soldiers exchanged silent hand-grasps, with deep emotion.

The ladies stormed the railway station and did good business with passengers, guards, and porters; they invaded the Court of Appeal, and from magistrates, lawyers, clients, officials—even from prisoners' families—they reaped a harvest of some 2,000 francs. The poor boatmen and fishers of the Port and its ragged hangers-on were no less responsive; theatre-goers at night bought up the last remaining 'trefoils'; and when at the end of the long day's work the sums collected were transported, duly guarded, to the Bank of Naples, they were found to amount to not less than 50,000 francs = 2,000 pounds sterling. Be it remembered that the majority of those among whom this sum was raised are poor—many wretchedly poor. Yet they bought 180,000 'trefoils' for love of their country and its army.

Only those who know the rigid etiquette that hedges in the ladies of Naples, and the deep poverty of its populace, can understand the intensity of patriot passion and of enthusiasm for the Army and its present task which underlie the doings of 'Trefoil Day.' That is why we have thought well to preface by an account of those doings our

brief study of the character, cruelly impugned in certain quarters, of the citizen-soldier of Italy. A bitter sense of that injustice was probably at the back of the prohibition to *offer* the trefoil to any foreigner. If the foreigner bought it of his own free will—well and good; but he should not be *asked* to help the calumniated soldiery. How deeply and vilely they have been calumniated I shall now endeavour to show.

The soldiers of Italy are something more than admirable fighting-machines. Drawn from all classes of the community, from all trades and occupations, they are apt for many kinds of service, and in great emergencies the State has recourse to their aid. It was after the great volcanic eruption of 1906 that I first saw them at work, which was neither drill nor parade. The showers of volcanic dust which had filled the air and hidden the sun had left Naples in a piteous condition; its thoroughfares blocked, its buildings imperilled, its traffic checked, by drifts and mounds of the fearful black snow. It was the soldiers' task to remove this perilous stuff; and it was a pleasure to see how gaily they worked, with spade and shovel and sturdy arms, till the vast mass of *débris* that choked up the circulation of Naples was clean gone. Yet more helpful were they in the Vesuvian communes devastated by the volcano. At the imminent risk of their lives they explored the shattered, tottering houses, rescued half-buried living victims, and reverently removed the dead—doing all with equal kindness and courage. One saw them returning from such terrible toils, marching briskly with shouldered spades and cheerful look; and one honoured their gay, dauntless valour. Nor did this spirit fail them in the long days of horror that followed the great earthquake of Messina.

Aided in the first instance by Italian and foreign seamen, it was again their business to clear away where possible the impending masses of ruined masonry, save those who still lived, and remove the dead for decent burial—a gigantic task in which they did not falter, though confronted with

horrors which no battlefield could outdo; 'strange images of death' from which any but the soldiers of humanity might recoil.

In other civic troubles their aid is requisitioned. Italy is something prone to strikes, of which most mischievous was the General Railway Strike of a year or two ago, which paralysed her industry and commerce, and threatened the life of the nation. Then the soldiers, who in their civil life had known the railwayman's work, undertook it, and as signalmen, drivers, stokers, guards, kept communications open, till the energetic action of the Government, forbidding the railwayman as a 'servant of the State' to employ the strike-weapon, and penalizing its use, ended the dangerous situation.

It has been the same with other trades of indispensable public utility; if the gas-man, the electrician, the baker, goes on strike, there are soldiers skilled at each craft who can replace him at the Government's bidding, and do his work, within restricted limits, till the difficulty is rationally settled. And all is done not brutally, but with a cheerful, tolerant kindness that endears the serviceable soldier to the people.

Let it be remarked that this valuable citizen is, like the majority of his countrymen, a creature of warm family affections, with a peculiar tenderness for helpless, innocent childhood. This is a national trait that is very apparent to any impartial observer. Nothing is more common than to see an Italian of the humbler class carrying his little child in his arms by the hour, amusing it, feeding it, patiently enduring its caprices and beguiling its sorrows, with the unwearied, gentle skill we commonly associate only with motherhood. The soldier does not put off his sweet humanity with his civilian dress; this, many incidents in the Tripolitan campaign have clearly shown. From time to time there are published extracts from the letters of men at the front to their friends at home, instinct with a playful tenderness that seeks to comfort their anxiety. 'You will

be surprised,' writes one, 'to learn that I have now a child on my hands—a little Arab; but this is how it happened'; and he tells in artless phrase how, after a skirmish with treacherous Arabs, who fell before their fire, he and his comrades found this little creature alive among the corpses of their assailants. 'We had killed its friends; it was our duty to take care of it,' writes the soldier, telling how he tended it till proper provision could be made for it. This is but one instance among many; none perhaps is more characteristic than that related by the *Times* correspondent.

'A group of Arabs was advancing towards the city. The women were weary; and the Italian soldiers, to save them from too much fatigue, carried their children in their arms. One carried a little boy on his back; smiled on him, talked to him, danced him on his strong shoulders. . . . One was immensely amused, because the little Arab girl he carried gave him smart slaps on his cap. All at once they met a group of officers; and then these brave fellows tried to stand stiffly at attention, but could not, for their burdened arms. He who had the child on his shoulders, reddening, said, "Excuse me, Colonel . . . but I have a little boy at home!"'

This is the Italian soldier as he really is, and as he is known to his compatriots. It is then most natural that the falsehoods printed in certain German and English newspapers, which have enlarged on imaginary 'atrocities' attributed to Italy's army in Tripoli, should have been passionately resented. The insult was addressed to the Nation, which is one with its soldiery in heart and life. Hence arose, what otherwise might seem unaccountably excessive, the extraordinary enthusiasm excited for Jean Carrère, the French correspondent of the *Paris Temps*. The slanders against Italy had found a certain echo in the French press; Carrère, as an honest eyewitness, had written the plain truth about the conduct of Italian and Turkish troops respectively; and it is clear that his outspokenness

had been deeply resented, since a Turkish assassin waylaid him in Tripoli streets, striking him from behind—a dagger-thrust that must have been mortal but for the very substantial quality of the victim's clothing. There followed on this incident an outburst of feeling not easy to parallel. 'A stranger, a foreigner, is struck down for speaking in our defence; he, no Italian, has defended us against foul slanders—and for this his life is attempted!' Too much honour, too much sympathy, could not be shown him in his lingering convalescence; his life, for the moment, was the most precious to Italy. Naples gave him her stormy welcome, full of love and wrathful pity, when she received him, a shattered invalid; Rome re-echoed the plaudits, and almost overwhelmed the sufferer with too much gratitude. Was the feeling, was its expression, in our colder judgement, exaggerated? Measure by that excess the depth of the wound which the hostile criticisms of once friendly foreign peoples, France and England, had inflicted. The letter of Signor Luigi Luzzatti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy, to the English Press, has made it clear that most sharply felt was the apparent unkindness of England. 'Et tu, Brute!'

England, on whose free institutions Italy had tried to model herself; England, which through Gladstone and John Russell 'had done as much for Italy as the French did in the glorious episodes of Magenta and Solferino'; England, whom during the South African War Italy had often staunchly upheld against the adverse judgements of the rest of Europe—*her* Press should not have made itself the mouthpiece of cruelly unjust misrepresentation, 'charging us with atrocities against the Arabs; thus transforming one of the mildest and most civilized of peoples into military brigands.'

What was the truth? The Italian troops, under the irresistible protecting power of the great guns of their warships, had effected their landing in Tripoli with admirable skill and discipline, avoiding as much as possible useless

destruction and slaughter, directing their fire against fortified places only, carefully respecting hospitals and places of worship, and doing all that they could to conciliate the native inhabitants, as distinguished from the Turkish soldiery opposed to their landing. Apparently their advances, which often extended to the sharing of their rations with the poorer natives, were well received. But in the evil days of October 23 to October 26, they learned to their cost how treacherous Arab friendliness could be. While repelling a Turkish frontal attack the entrenched Italian troops suddenly found themselves savagely and feloniously attacked in the rear; their native 'friends,' transformed into fiendish enemies, were striving with fanatic hatred to murder them. The peaceful-seeming inhabitants of the oasis flanking Tripoli—who had passed freely to and fro, trafficking with the soldiers, selling their rural produce to considerable advantage—revealed themselves as a guerrilla force, as well-armed as evil-disposed. A murderous conflict followed, in which two companies of Bersaglieri—those hardy, quick-marching foot-soldiers distinguished by their sweeping plumes of cock's feathers—justly popular wherever they are known—were almost wiped out. Happiest were those who fell fighting, even though they did not see the ultimate repulse of the traitorous foe!

Here be it noted that, before abandoning Tripoli, the Turks had flung open all its prison-doors, setting free, as the jail-registers proved, a number of prisoners charged with the very blackest crimes. It is beyond doubt that these liberated criminals played the worst and most bloody part in the great treason of the Arab revolt on October 23. On that day a few Bersaglieri, in the trenches of Henni, sustained during nine hours of incessant firing attacks from both front and rear, without abandoning their positions. Behind them the convoys were being carried by storm, the encampment plundered, their isolated companions were being cut off, murdered, tortured; the 'Red Cross'

was being assailed in the houses where it had installed its work of mercy; the good doctor, who had lavished his cares on many sick and wounded Arabs, was being repaid for his compassion with a death of unspeakable torture; and hundreds of Arabs, armed with guns plundered from the camp, were stealing through the olives of the oasis and firing on the entrenched Italians, who, outnumbered ten times, returned shot for shot to the armed hordes that broke in ceaseless waves on the hill-side. The handful of valiant men held their own; but it was subsequently necessary to retreat from the position, and concentrate to the rearward. Only when Henni was recaptured were the full horrors of that day realized. Then the little white house which had been utilized as a hospital gave up its ghastly secrets, its tale of mutilated corpses, with features still showing the spasms of atrocious suffering, with hands and feet brutally hacked off from limbs yet living; then its garden-wall showed to European eyes its fearful array of impaled, crucified, mutilated dead, still witnessing to the refinement of varied cruelty with which the wounded soldiers, unhappily captured alive, had been slowly done to death. 'To give a detailed description of these tortures,' it has been said, 'would be useless and demoralizing.' But it has been suggested, by those learned in the ways of African fanaticism, that the butchery of 'Giama-bel-Nage,' as the terrible little house is called, has a kind of ritual, sacrificial character; that its atrocities were carried out possibly under the orders of a priest, the worthy successor of ancient Carthaginian Baal-worshippers (indeed, certain details recall not remotely the old story of the sufferings of the Roman Regulus at Punic hands); and that the intention was to purify with expiatory sacrifice the place—very sacred, it appears, in the eyes of African Arabs—from Christian contamination. 'The parody of crucifixion' (a parody too hideous for us to describe) 'seems to allude to this.' But though Giama-bel-Nage put the crown of horror on

that day, it was noticed that similar mutilations had been inflicted on all the Italian dead whom the troops found on the scene of conflict when, having regained the lost position, they proceeded to the sacred work of interment. It is pardonable, then, if an Italian should say, 'Our so-called repression was but a feeble defence against the horde of murderous assassins which filled the oasis; any other nation, any other generals, would have rased the oasis to the ground, and cleared its way with shot and shell and fire as far as Tajura.' But, though the Italian commanders have been compelled in their own despite to transgress the vaunted teaching of Beccaria, and inflict the death-penalty on all natives convicted of murdering Italian soldiers; though they have had to alter the form of punishment from shooting—which has no terrors for the fanatic Moslem, who deems such a death a sure passport to Paradise—to hanging, which is deemed infamous; nothing but simple death has been inflicted; no attempts have been made to exact 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.' This was not done even in that savagely criticized clearing of the oasis, which revealed the peaceful-looking farm-houses and villas as storehouses of concealed ammunition, and lurking-places of armed murderers.

We may deplore, we may denounce, the merciless slaying of the treacherous Arab fighters of the oasis. But it is a mischievous error to regard the hideous work of Giama-bel-Nage as 'reprisals' for wholesale massacres of Arab women and children during that terrible period *following* the fatal 23rd of October. There is no trustworthy evidence that the Italian soldiers have wittingly attacked Arab woman or child, while there *is* abundant evidence for their gentle treatment of such helpless non-combatants. We may quote again the *Times* correspondent on the spot, who, writing immediately after the event, said that as far as his experience went, 'there was no war on women, in any sense of the phrase, in the retribution exacted by the Italians';

who, after full investigation, refused any credit to that often-told tale of senseless savage murder (for which, had it been true, no denunciation could have been too severe). He also says, 'I admire the calmness with which the Italian soldiers assisted at the burial of their comrades, mangled by the enemy.' Nightmare-horrors, to outdo even those of Cawnpore, confronted these men; dare we English have reproved them, had their vengeance equalled that exacted for Cawnpore? But such was not the case. Truly said Luzzatti that 'it is not in the good and generous nature of the Italian soldier to go to excess,' and rare were the instances in which the cruel foe was cruelly dealt with. On the other hand, Italians point with just pride to the admirable, well-organized, scientific hospital system installed at Tripoli for the benefit of Arabs afflicted with such maladies as cholera, small-pox, and bubonic plague. Cleansed from their filth, lodged in large airy wards, the most advanced medical science employed for their healing, their dwellings disinfected—they are given a better chance for healthy life than they have ever known. Gratitude is not looked for. But recognition of this good work is demanded from English justice.

A highly competent Jewish witness has lately paid his tribute to the compassionate humanity which led Italian soldiers to share their bread with starving Arabs, and succour their sick and wounded. This is the Professor and Rabbi Jussuf Cohen of Tripoli, an accomplished linguist devoted to the cause of advanced education (steadily obstructed by the Turks). He tells us how the intelligent majority of Jews in Tripoli have long awaited with hope the Italian occupation, which might bring European civilization to Northern Africa, and saw with joy the first Italian flag waving over the fields of Cyrenaica. When it shall fly over the whole region, the many Jews who have fled from the face of war will joyfully return to hail the new era of peace, toleration, and just administration.

We can neither defend nor condone Italy's *forcible* occupation of Tripoli—a measure deeply disapproved by many intelligent Italians. But it is one thing to reprobate a policy, adopted for reasons hid in the dark mazes of Continental diplomacy, and another to assail with slander the men nowise responsible for it, whose duty binds them to carry it out. Such attacks rather tend to strengthen the responsible Government, enlisting patriot feeling on its side.

We can believe that the army of occupation had expected to be welcomed as liberators rather than hated as invaders, understanding too little the savagery of native Moslem fanaticism. Unhappily for Italy, that savagery has apparently seen in her the representative of the Papal system with its persecuting traditions, and of the manifold popular idolatries, hateful to Islam, associated with it. With little judgement, some Italian priests and prelates have spoken openly of the war as if it had something of the character of a Crusade—a character which the Italian commanders have taken extraordinary pains to discountenance; but some such idea lurks, doubtless, behind the peculiar murderous hostility shown to all wearers of priestly robe or monkish frock, no matter how innocent or beneficent the character and conduct of the individual wearers; some such idea can be traced in the ferocious attacks on the 'Red Cross'—symbol of brotherly love and mercy to all the Christian world, but hated of the Turk—and in the sacrilegious tortures inflicted on the Italian wounded. But in despite of all special difficulties, the cheerful heroism of the Italian soldiery shows no abatement. Their task is arduous indeed; but hitherto they are undefeated. Their leaders appear wise and wary; able in planning, prompt in execution, full of resource and initiative, understanding perfectly how 'from the nettle danger to pluck the flower safety'; and their excellent discipline is united with a warm personal devotion to their officers, of which this war has afforded many touching instances.

Italy is a country of long memories. When, the other day, the enshrouding desert sands, under Italian pick and spade, were swept away, restoring to the light a wonderfully preserved fine mosaic, once the pavement of some stately Roman hall, the excavators thrilled to the knowledge that they were standing where once their remote forefathers had stood, the imperial masters of North Africa. The crimes and weaknesses of decadent Rome had deprived her of her lordship over the fruitful province, once her chief granary; wave after wave of fierce barbarian invasion had desolated it; the sterilizing flood of Arab conquest had rolled over it, the blighting despotism of the Turk, like the withering simoom of the desert, had wasted it. Still, despite its centuries of suffering and slavery, this region of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica is a region of great possibilities, capable of wonderful development, by such intelligent and industrious cultivators as Italy can supply, under an intelligent and upright administration.

An enslaved, an enervated, a corrupt Italy, divided against herself, not less in respect to things spiritual than things material, had forfeited her dominion over the once wealthy province. Might not a united, an enfranchised, an enlightened Italy, a renovated and purified Rome, win it back, govern it wisely and righteously, and restore it to more than its ancient prosperity?

Such is, undoubtedly, the hope animating many an Italian breast to-day. And such a re-conquest will only benefit the world, if Italy herself perseveres in the path of self-redemption, self-enfranchisement, on which she entered fifty years ago; if she continues her efforts to extirpate the cankering moral diseases, heritage from her own days of enslavement, which enfeeble her; above all, if she embraces a purer, a truly Christian faith instead of the corrupt and corrupting caricature of Christianity, which so largely contributed to her loss of empire.

ANNE E. KEELING.

THE WHITE MAN IN THE TROPICS

The Broad Stone of Empire. By SIR CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G. (Macmillan & Co.)

Mosquito or Man? By SIR RUPERT BOYCE, F.R.S. (John Murray.)

Insects and Disease. By R. W. DOANE. (Constable & Co.)

The Conquest of the Isthmus. By HUGH W. WEIR. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Malaria. A Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome. By W. H. S. JONES. (Macmillan & Bowes.)

SIR CHARLES BRUCE'S book, *The Broad Stone of Empire*, which gives an account of his work, his experiences, his impressions, while acting as a high official in several of our Crown Colonies, is both interesting and informing, but the most notable thing about it is that he considers it necessary to devote no fewer than three chapters, 114 pages, to 'Health in the Tropics.' Ten years ago this would have been impossible. At that time a colonial administrator would have had little to say on such a subject. He could only repeat a melancholy and well-told tale of perils and dangers, of innumerable lives lost or ruined. He could point to little that would cure or prevent, and could look to the future with no hope of improvement. Whoever went to tropical lands, went with his life in his hands. From the time of landing to the time of departure was one continuous period of haunting fear. He well knew that a large proportion of his fellows fell victims to the dreaded diseases that loom so large in the life of those regions. Few, indeed, escaped malaria or yellow fever or one of the other maladies that have extorted so heavy a toll on the hardy European.

So it had been from time immemorial. So it promised to be in the indefinite future. There was absolutely nothing to suggest that there would be any change for the better.

Ten short years, and how different the prospect! Sir Charles Bruce has quite another story to tell. He shows from personal knowledge and experience how affairs have changed since first he went to those enchanting lands. He has had to deal with most of the diseases that distress the inhabitants of hot countries. Most of his experiences were in the days of ignorance, and he has to speak of distress, desolation, poverty, and huge mortality. Some, happily, were in the times of enlightenment. How different is the picture then! Speaking of his disastrous stay in Mauritius, he says, 'Had all that recent research has discovered been at the time within the range of medical knowledge, there seems to be little reason to doubt that measures of prophylaxis and treatment would have been at once adopted which would have arrested the epidemic, and saved the colony from an enormous mortality, an endemic disease, a vast depreciation of property, and the displacement of the homes of a large section of the community.'

His story is the plain, unvarnished truth. During the last ten years our knowledge and resources have increased beyond belief, and now we see the time fast approaching when the terrors of the tropics shall have vanished like a bad dream.

The history of this unexampled progress reads like a fairy tale, and can be equalled by nothing in the whole course of medicine. Much has been heard of the conquests of surgery, and not without reason. The introduction of anaesthetics and antiseptic surgery has rendered possible operations that were undreamt-of less than a generation ago. Every day, in every little hospital and in every small country practice, diseases are dealt with that were the despair of our fathers, and lives are saved that were beyond hope when practitioners of middle age were students. Then,

it was almost certain death to open the abdomen. Now it is done with impunity by the most immature and inexperienced surgeon, and every organ in that cavity is subject to successful manipulation by every budding operator. The merest tyro in surgery can teach the greatest surgeon of a generation ago more than he ever knew. Great indeed have been the triumphs of surgery. But the physician has not lagged behind. Great as has been the success of surgery, medicine can show even greater triumphs. While the surgeon is saving his thousands, the physician saves his ten thousands. If we look only at our own country this statement might be difficult to justify, though it is possible to point to great strides in the management of such diseases as diphtheria, typhoid, scarlet fever and tuberculosis. It is in the tropics that we see the supreme triumphs of medicine. The glamour and romance that from our childhood have surrounded these favoured regions have now a real being in the conquest of the diseases that have added so much to their mystery. When this century opened, it was an axiom that the tropics could never be colonized by white people. It was assumed to be an eternal law that white men could not live and spread and retain their vigour and virility; that the deadly nature of the atmosphere, the heat, the miasms, the poisons put an everlasting barrier to the spread of civilization in those luxuriant tracts. It has been the supreme accomplishment of medicine in the twentieth century to turn these truisms into fallacies, and to show that the time is not far distant when the tropics will be as amenable to the habitation, the culture, the commerce, the civilization of the white man as the temperate zones. Malaria, yellow fever, relapsing fever, Malta fever, beriberi, and other forms of disease which have stricken down the soldier, the missionary, the trader, the explorer with relentless hand, are now conquered, and the days of dreaded scourges like plague, cholera, and sleeping-sickness are all numbered. Already the causes of most of these are

recognized and the means of combating them known. In the case of some, it is only a question of administration and money to ensure their extinction. In the case of others, there needs only a little further investigation and research and they, too, will be under our complete control.

It is impossible to form an idea of the destructiveness of these terrible diseases. Malaria, especially, has always been full of dread. It is the deadliest enemy of half the human race. Endemic in the most fertile, well-watered, and luxuriant tracts of the earth's surface, the parts that are of the greatest value to the human race, it has put an effectual bar to the successful exploitation of the richest parts of the world. The pioneers of civilization have been struck down remorselessly, and the natives have been constantly subject to its awful and grinding depression. Ever, it has been the 'principal and gigantic ally of barbarism.' It has annihilated empires, destroyed armies, enervated nations, devastated countries, and arrested the march of civilization. 'No wild deserts, no savage races, no geographical difficulties have proved so inimical to civilization as this disease.' It has been more fatal to humanity than any other agency. The ravages of war have been as nothing to it. It is extremely probable that it had much to do with the downfall of ancient empires like Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. The researches of Jones and Ross clearly prove that it was largely responsible for the degeneracy that heralded the fall of Greece and Rome. It was introduced into Greece somewhere about 400 B.C., and some little time after that a noticeable change came over the character of the people. There was a marked deterioration, a loss of 'manly vigour and intellectual strength.' That change in character has continued to the present time. To-day no fewer than forty per cent. of the population of Greece are infected with malaria. So with Rome. 'Malaria made the Greek inefficient; it turned the sterner Roman into a bloodthirsty brute.' From the time of the early empire,

malaria was rampant in Italy, and it led to the brutality and degeneration which, in due course, left the empire an easy prey to the barbarians.

But Africa and India show malaria at its worst. According to Sir Ronald Ross, no fewer than 4,919,591 died from 'fever' in India in 1900, most of these being cases of malaria, 'while of the military population, out of a total force of 305,927 in the same year, there were 102,640 cases admitted into hospital suffering from malaria.'

But this statement by no means sets forth the terrors of the pest. Although it kills a great multitude, it is not its mortality that makes it so fearful. Unlike so many other diseases, it does not make a nation hardier by carrying off the unfit. It attacks the great majority of the children of India, and keeps them ailing until their fourteenth or fifteenth year. The fever may then leave those that survive, but its effects remain. It leaves them enfeebled, anaemic, and a readier prey to other diseases. What is more, it produces a peculiar nervous depression which deprives them of the inclination to work, takes away their powers of initiative, saps their energy, and weakens their moral force. Hence, the whole population is influenced and the national character spoilt. In some parts of India, Ross found that eighty to ninety per cent. of the natives harboured the malarial parasite. No wonder that the effect is so far-reaching. Much of the weakness and moral inefficiency of India must be credited to the universal prevalence of malaria. Nor does it only deteriorate the national character. It is especially severe on the white men who visit its pestilential districts. Large numbers of these fall victims, and many pay the penalty in shattered lives and fail to do the work which civilization demands. White men and natives die and degenerate, rich men become poor, lands become infertile, whole districts are devastated. It is only too common to find opulent and prosperous communities ruined and compelled to migrate to healthier districts. Sir Charles Bruce tells of such an

experience when he went to Ceylon in 1878. A certain school was visited for inspection. When the inspector went to the place in which it was situated, he found that it had been transferred to a site seventy miles away. 'The village, with its school, had migrated to successive locations, from each of which it had been driven by visitations of fever until it had reached the spot where it was found by the inspector.' This was typical of the history of the province. It was the most interesting district in Ceylon, and contained innumerable monuments of a great religious and political past. 'At the present day, the province, once the most richly cultivated and thickly peopled part of the island, is a region of abandoned lands, the home of a sparse and anaemic population.' Malaria had produced the ruin and depopulation of the province. This is the sort of thing that is going on constantly, not only in India but in all malarial countries.

Scarcely less deadly is plague. But while malaria is endemic and always present in large parts of the earth's surface, plague is endemic only in much smaller areas. Its great fatality is due to the waves of epidemic which characterize its visitations. History abounds in examples of these. Time after time it has spread over continents, and frequently whole countries have been decimated by it. Happily to-day its area of distribution is considerably restricted and Europe is practically free from it, due in a large measure to the better sanitary conditions that prevail. Its home is India and other countries in the East. Occasionally it spreads sporadically to Africa, the Pacific coasts of North and South America and Australia, and even to the larger seaports of Europe, but it has never been allowed to stay there for long. In India, Hong-Kong, and Manchuria it has been fearfully destructive in recent years. In British India, during the first seven years of the present century, it has been responsible for the death of 6,000,000 people, most of these being young and in the prime of life.

Just as plague has raged in India, sleeping-sickness has reigned in Africa. There it has played much havoc. It has been said that the tsetse-fly has been the greatest obstacle to civilization in Africa. It has either cleared the white man out of that continent or kept him out, and the native has suffered much more severely than the European. Until late years it has been unconquerable. The saddest part of the history of sleeping-sickness is that, more perhaps than any other tropical disease, it has been spread by the extension of civilization. The opening up of Equatorial Africa has done much to extend the area of its distribution, for it has steadily advanced along the trade routes. Especially has it followed the track of natives who have had to remove to other parts in order to supply the demand for labour which is essential to the cultivation and commerce of the continent. Until a few years ago it seems to have been confined to Western Africa, where it has been endemic for a long time, but now it has extended also to the east and centre, and it threatens to find its way all over the Sudan and United South Africa. Wherever it has appeared its mortality has been frightful. Its victims have been numerous, they have suffered for years, and practically every case has died. 'Whole villages have been wiped out, and huge tracts of fertile land become impenetrable jungle.' In the Uganda Protectorate alone over 200,000 have perished in a few years. Wollaston, who saw much of it in his journey from Ruwenzori to the Congo, and who describes very vividly the unspeakable horrors associated with its prevalence, is constrained to say that its prevention is by far the most serious problem which confronts Europeans in Africa.

The same tale of destruction, devastation, and death has to be told of another scourge of the tropics—yellow fever. Fatal to natives, it is still more fatal to incomers. Its very name is redolent of the Spanish Main, and it was more feared by and fatal to the Spanish conquerors of the West Indies and Central America than the human enemies whom they

encountered. So long ago as the time of Elizabeth, our own adventurers suffered more at the hands of 'yellow jack' than at the hands of Spain. Time after time do we find records of our regiments being completely exterminated by it, and mortalities of fifty and sixty per cent. are quite common. In many districts it is not uncommon to read of half of the population being carried off. In the *History of the 13th Hussars*, published by Blackwood last year, there is an instructive account of a short term of service in the West Indies towards the close of the eighteenth century. Although only one man died in action, the regiment was all but annihilated by yellow fever. Nineteen officers, seven quartermasters, two volunteers, and 287 non-commissioned officers and men were killed by it. Of the fifty-two men who, after sundry transfers to other corps, finally represented the regiment on its return to England after an absence of two and a half years, many were found to be totally unfit for service, while the rest, completely exhausted and worn out, were gradually discharged. The virulence of the disease did not abate with time. All through the last century it continued its triumphant career.

How dreadful are these records of the ravages of tropical disease! How can we wonder at the prevalence of fatalistic notions of the impossibility of the tropics for white men? What chance has there been for the spread of commerce, of Christianity, of civilization?

Sir Charles Bruce points out how impossible has been the efficient administration of our Crown Colonies because of the 'difficulty of finding qualified candidates for employment in regions where even a short period of service brought almost certain sickness and probable death.' He illustrates the danger of residence on the West African coast by reference to a dispatch alluded to in Parliament some years ago. Before it arrived in London, the Colonial Secretary who drafted it, the clerk who copied it, and the Governor who signed it had all died. 'In 1895 the number of European

officials on the Gold Coast was 175. Of these seventeen died and twenty-four were invalided. In 1896 the number was 176, of whom fifteen died and twenty-six were invalided.' 'Corresponding returns from other West African colonies were scarcely less alarming.' Wherever we look, we get the same story of life in the tropics. White men were the constant prey of strange diseases, and apparently there was no remedy. So it had been from the first. So it would continue. There was not a ray of hope that things would ever be better. To-day all is changed. 'The white man's grave' is an almost forgotten phrase. Sir Charles Bruce follows up his account of the deadliness of West African service by saying that the increase of our knowledge has already effected such a change that appointments in West Africa are eagerly sought for by officials and administrators of proved ability. The improvement has not been confined to officials. It has included the natives. So different are their health conditions that it has had a marked effect on their whole outlook, and it has increased their eagerness to respond to missionary appeal.

The advance throughout the tropics has been prodigious. Some of the most pestiferous regions in the world have become the most healthy, and we can easily foresee the time when the tropics will become as suitable for the residence of white men as the cities of Europe.

How has this wonderful revolution come about? Simply by the epoch-making discovery that most of these fearful diseases are caused by parasites which are conveyed to man by insects. For centuries the unhealthiness of the tropics has been attributed to the climate; to the atmosphere, the miasms, arising from swamps and other suspected sources. So long as this theory held sway, progress was impossible. The first ray of light was shed by Laveran, who, working in Algeria in 1880, discovered that in every case of malaria which he examined, he could demonstrate the presence of a protozoan parasite, growing in the blood. This was the first

step in the elucidation of a problem that had baffled investigators from the earliest times. Bad air did not produce malaria, but the plasmodia which had managed to enter the blood, live there and multiply with enormous rapidity. Important as this discovery was, it did not carry things very far, and it was eighteen years before there was a decisive advance. How did the parasite obtain access to the human body? No one could answer the question, and until the solution came nothing could be done. In 1883 Sir Patrick Manson proved that another blood parasite, which caused the disease known as filariasis, got into the blood of man through the bite of a mosquito. Following up his discovery he was able to find in the mosquito the same parasite in another stage of development. Manson suggested that here was the key to the solution of the malaria problem. Did not the bite of a mosquito also carry the plasmodia into the human body? The association between the mosquito and malaria had long been suspected, and it had been repeatedly pointed out that wherever malaria existed, there mosquitoes abounded. But no one could trace the causal connexion. The honour of discovery was reserved for Major Ross, of the Indian army, now Sir Ronald Ross, Professor of Tropical Medicine in the Liverpool School. For two and a half years he conducted a most laborious and painstaking investigation in the heat of India. Following up the suggestion of Manson, he examined the bodies of thousands of mosquitoes. His results were negative until one happy day he had the joy of finding the parasite of which he was in search. Continuing his work, he demonstrated a series of most important facts. In a most beautiful and convincing way he was able to prove that the plasmodia were always carried to man by a mosquito and by only one kind of mosquito, the anopheles; that the insect got the parasite from the blood of her victim, received it into her stomach, where it underwent change into another stage of development, passed it on to the salivary glands and thence into the man

whom she bit. In the blood, it returned to its original form and produced the disease. Nothing more interesting than the successful work of Major Ross has ever been known in the history of medical research, and never had a discovery more far-reaching results. He proved that malaria was impossible without the anopheline mosquito, and that if the anopheles could be destroyed or kept away from man, malaria could be eradicated. The results obtained by Ross were confirmed by others and soon gained universal recognition. One interesting item of confirmation was associated with Sir Patrick Manson. An anopheline in Italy was allowed to bite a patient suffering from malaria. It was brought to London and there bit Manson's son. In due course he developed an attack of typical malaria.

This was the beginning of the wonderful advance in the management of tropical diseases. Its future progress owes much to the fact that about this time Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was Colonial Secretary. Struck by a lecture delivered by Sir Patrick Manson, he started a movement which resulted in the formation of Schools of Tropical Medicine in London and Liverpool, schools which have attracted able men from all parts of the world and have been the models of similar institutions in many other countries. From them have proceeded the men who have carried on the great work. Laboratories have been established in many likely neighbourhoods, and commissions have been sent out and have rendered inestimable service by studying the diseases on the spot.

The epoch-making discovery of Ross was soon followed by other great results in another disease—yellow fever. The actual cause of this disorder has not yet been found out, but its mode of propagation and its prophylaxis are now as well known as in the case of malaria. The elucidation of these forms one of the most brilliant triumphs of preventive medicine. For it we are indebted to the United States of America. The defeat of Spain in the

Spanish-American War was due more to the loss of life and the deterioration of the morale of the troops from yellow fever than to the military measures of her powerful opponent. The destruction of Spanish soldiers from disease was enormous. After the war, the administration of Cuba was put into the hands of a medical man, General Wood, and one of his first measures was to institute a medical commission whose duty it was thoroughly to investigate the cause of yellow fever and devise measures for its prevention. The investigation caused the death of two of the commissioners, but it soon obtained unlooked-for success. As with malaria, it was found that the virus which caused yellow fever was introduced into the blood by a mosquito, and one particular mosquito, *stegomyia calopus*. It was proved that all the elaborate measures of quarantine, which were supposed to be so essential, and which by crippling commerce had caused untold monetary loss, were absolutely valueless. After the first three days of illness the patient was incapable of conveying the disease to others. Just as Ross had shown that malaria was impossible without anopheles, the American commissioners proved that yellow fever was impossible without *stegomyia*. The true remedy was not quarantine but mosquito destruction. Get rid of the *stegomyia* or keep it from man, and yellow fever could be done away with. Thus was rung the death-knell of a scourge which had been a terror to mankind for centuries and which had produced unmeasured misery and destruction of life.

It is needless to detail other famous discoveries of the causation of tropical diseases. Suffice it to say that the mystery of plague yielded up its secret to commissions sent out to India. It was found that it was caused by a bacillus that was conveyed to rats and human beings by a rat flea which invested the rodent and passed from him to man. Also that sleeping-sickness was transmitted to man by a trypanosome whose host was the tsetse-fly, an insect exceedingly common in many parts of Africa. Beriberi,

relapsing fever, Malta fever, and other forms of disease peculiar to hot climates were also traced to their sources and rendered amenable to treatment and prevention.

The causation of these infections having been discovered, it remained only to devise means to render the knowledge thus gained serviceable for their extinction. The practical measures were soon forthcoming. Strange to say, the means of prophylaxis are remarkable for their simplicity. In the case of malaria and yellow fever, the obvious thing is to attack the mosquito and to make it powerless for attack. But before attacking the mosquito certain general precautions are necessary that are useful for the prevention of all forms of tropical disease. It is essential to attend to the first line of defence, namely, good sanitation. Tropical towns have lagged behind the cities of Europe in their sanitation, but of late years much has been done to make the general conditions more conducive to health, and to-day many places are quite up to the modern standard. It is now usual for them to have a good and unimpeachable supply of pipe-borne water. The houses are constructed on better and healthier methods. Sewage disposal is attended to, and care is taken to ensure efficient drainage. Everything is being done to guard against soil water standing in pools or collecting into swamps. The supply of milk and food of various kinds is carefully watched. From this cause alone, residence in the tropics has been robbed of some of its dangers and the health of the towns has vastly improved. There can be no doubt that these better conditions have greatly helped the more specific measures that are necessary for the fight against disease. But better sanitary conditions are not enough. In the case of mosquito-carried infections, the enemy must be attacked directly. The insect must be destroyed or kept from his prey. At first sight this would appear to be a difficult task, but, as a matter of fact, it is not so difficult as it seems. The mosquito is very selective in the choice of its locality. It breeds only

in standing water. The anopheline lives for the most part in swampy places where there is much water, and only at the margins of the water. It has a special preference for fresh water, and likes shallow water with a muddy bottom and slowly moving streams. As a rule, rivers and lakes are fairly free from it. It does best in little pools by the side of the road, in small collections of water in waste places and by the edges of marshes. The *stegomyia* is essentially domestic in its habits. It frequents cisterns of standing water, plant tubs, old tins, old pots and vessels of any kind, and, indeed, any receptacle about a house which will hold stagnant water. Hence it is easy to locate the habitat of the peccant mosquito in given districts, and equally easy to destroy it or to neutralize its harmful powers. The means of attack are numerous. Certain kinds of fish soon rid a collection of water of the larvae, and some of the West Indian islands owe their immunity from malaria to this alone. A thin layer of petroleum poured on to the top of the water in a cistern or tub or other receptacle will quickly kill the larvae by preventing them coming to the surface for air. The drainage and drying up of swamps will often clear a whole neighbourhood of anopheles. In the same way, the insects are prevented from accumulating by the provision of smooth channels by the roadside which allow the surface water to run off into the sewers. In the anti-mosquito campaigns which are now so general in many parts of the tropics, these and other measures are carried out, and the greatest attention is given to effectual compliance with regulations laid down. Severe penalties are imposed on all who do not carry out instructions, and many districts, in which not long ago mosquitoes swarmed, are now quite free. Fumigation of infected houses is extensively adopted in suitable cases. These methods of mosquito destruction are supported by others which keep the insects from the people—the provision of mosquito nets for use at night when the mosquitoes are most active, the covering of verandahs, doors

and windows by wire netting. Another most valuable remedy for the prevention and cure of malaria is the regular use of quinine, which acts as a powerful poison on the parasite. Such are the steps that have been taken to prevent the incidence of mosquito-borne diseases, and they have been attended by complete success.

The management of plague and sleeping-sickness prophylaxis is not so easy as that of malaria and yellow fever. Still, much has been done, and the future is full of hope. Plague can be fought successfully by good sanitation and by the wholesale destruction of rats. Sleeping-sickness has been stamped out in certain parts by doing away with the breeding-places of the tsetse-fly. Many other tropical diseases, such as Malta fever, relapsing fever, and beriberi are equally subject to control.

Such are some of the practical measures suggested by our new knowledge of the causation of these terrible diseases. Instances of their effectiveness can be given from all parts of the tropics. The records of successful campaigns already fill volumes. Anti-malarial campaigns have been carried out with complete success in Italy and Greece, in Ismailia, Port Said, and Khartoum, in Algeria and West Africa, in Panama, Rio, the United States and in many of the West Indian Islands, in Mauritius, the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, and Hong-Kong. Strange to say, the fight against the anopheline has been taken up with least vigour in India, the home of the great discovery, but during the last year or two the authorities have taken steps to deal with some of the difficulties that have faced them and are attempting to make up for lost time. Already they have reduced by one-half the malaria rate amongst the troops and the prisoners, and very soon the native populations will share in the improvement.

Yellow fever has been fought in most of its habitats, notably in Cuba, New Orleans, Honduras, Brazil, the Panama Canal zone, the West Indies, and the Amazon. Similarly,

sleeping-sickness has met with determined opposition in Central Africa. In Uganda the fight has been attended by marked success, but still much remains to be done. A new commission has recently been sent out, and much is hoped from its labours. Malta fever has been almost banished from our troops in Gibraltar and Malta, and no doubt the civilian population will soon share the immunity of the soldiers. Tick fever and relapsing fever are now nearly exterminated. Plague still defies all attempts to destroy it in its native haunts, India and parts of China, but when it invades other places like San Francisco, Glasgow, Hamburg and other great ports, it has proved itself eminently amenable to prophylaxis.

The classical examples of the fight against malaria and yellow fever are furnished by the campaigns in the Panama Canal zone and in Cuba. They were the first object-lessons, and the success of the fight is due to the skill, energy, and administrative ability of the United States. It is a simple matter of history that the failure of the French to build the canal was due far more to the destructiveness of malaria and yellow fever than to the formidable engineering difficulties of that vast undertaking, and there can be no doubt that the United States would have failed in the same way had not the new discoveries enabled them to devise means of reducing the enormous death and sickness rate which prevailed when they began the work. The district is one of the most pestiferous in the world. Explorers, traders, soldiers, workmen died off like flies when they approached that evil country. During the French attempt, 50,000 workmen died from the two scourges. In 1906, 821 died from malaria; in 1907, 424; and in 1908, 282, although many more men were employed. In those three years not a single case of yellow fever was recognized. At the present time the death-rate of Colon, the Atlantic port of Panama, formerly one of the unhealthiest towns in the world, compares favourably with that of most European

towns. In the whole zone, with 54,000 employés, 13,000 of whom are whites, the death-rate per thousand for the month of March 1910 was 8·91.

Cuba was lost to Spain for the same reason as Panama defeated France. In three years 100,000 Spanish soldiers perished in Cuba from disease. After the conquest and as a result of the administration of General Wood, the death-rate of Cuba has gone down to seventeen. 'During the three years between 1905-9 there were only 359 cases of yellow fever throughout the whole republic, and during that same period only forty deaths in Havana; whereas in the days of old there were thousands of cases.'

We can claim some credit for success in our own possessions. Witness what has been done in West Africa. About ninety years ago 'there were 1,912 deaths amongst 5,823 troops on the Gold Coast, and of 89 officers employed by the Church Missionary Society, 54 died and 14 returned home in broken health.' To-day the death-rate in Freetown is only 22 per thousand. Ismailia and Port Said, once hotbeds of malaria, are now practically free from fever. Examples like these might be multiplied indefinitely, but enough has been said to show how certain the conquest of the tropics is. Every year the condition is improving and the terrors of tropical diseases are fast disappearing. Sir William H. Lever, speaking in Liverpool a few months ago, said that if they only had a little more money, he was certain it would not be many years before they had swept tropical diseases from every British possession.

What an accomplishment this is! Truly it merits rank amongst the proudest achievements of the race. The unparalleled reduction of sickness and misery and death thus opened out must be fraught with momentous and unforeseen consequences. Its ultimate results it is impossible to estimate, but some of the more immediate are obvious. The enormous reduction in the death-rate must entail a great increase in the population. This increase will be the larger because of

the improvement in the birth-rate consequent on the lessening of the power of malaria, one of the leading causes of a low birth-rate. The people who survive will also be stronger and healthier, and before another generation is over we may look for a more vigorous and virile people. We have heard much of the upheaval and revival of the East. If malaria can be successfully combated in India, that revival will be intensified. Freed from the depressing and degenerating influence of that fell tyrant, we shall find instead of an enervated, morally inefficient population, a nation of strong and vigorous men, strong to think, strong to fight. The temperate zones will not then have a monopoly of progressive, far-sighted men, men of initiative and insight. The West will have to meet the East renewed in strength and moral force. Competition will be keener than ever, and Europe will have more powerful rivals for war, commerce, learning, and empire. As in the East, so in Africa and Central America. Much of the backwardness of these nations is due to the incidence of disease. Given the absence of its destruction and devitalization, there is a chance of these peoples coming to their own and a prospect is opened up of progress and competition hitherto unknown.

Again, if the white man is able to live and thrive and multiply in hot climates, we see the possibility of that room for expansion which is a crying need of the immediate future. The temperate zones are finding the world too small for them. They are becoming overcrowded. Nearly every country in Europe is calling out for other soils in which to plant its surplus population. The civilized races are crowding out their old homes. It is a necessity of their very existence that they shall find space for expansion. Here, thanks to the discoveries of tropical medicine, are the places getting ready for them—millions of miles of the fairest and richest areas of the earth's surface, unlimited room, unbounded productiveness.

In this prospect of the spread of the white races to the

tropics and the increased vitality of the natives, there are visions of commercial growth such as the world has never known. These areas of unlimited extent and unrealized fertility only want men for the development of their resources. Much as we already owe to the tropics, we have scarcely touched the fringe of their riches. There is scarcely a single district that has not undreamt-of possibilities, and as these regions become cultivated and scientifically exploited, there are certainties of commercial expansion such as have never been thought of. To Great Britain this outlook is of vital consequence. A considerable proportion of the tropics belongs to us. In India there is a population of 300,000,000. Our Crown Colonies, mostly tropical, cover an area of nearly 2,000,000 square miles and hold about 40,000,000 inhabitants. To these possessions we are largely indebted for our commercial prosperity. Without them we should lose our pre-eminence. From them we get many of the most important necessities. A list of the products of our Crown Colonies shows how vital to us is their development. Sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, spices, rice, tapioca, tobacco, rubber, cotton, fibres, oils and minerals of many kinds all come from there. The mere enumeration of these articles of trade shows how vast are the potentialities of their development. The first condition of the realization of these potentialities is that the white man shall be able to colonize these regions, and to-morrow that condition will be fulfilled. For the rest, all that remains is enterprise and commercial courage.

What effect will the conquest of the tropics have on missionary work? This is a question of overwhelming importance. It ought to help on the work as no other agency has done. It 'opens doors' in all directions. The conditions of labour will be much more favourable than ever before. The increased healthiness of the mission field will make it more attractive to the missionary and will also enable fewer men to do more work. At present it is said

that sixty per cent. of the death-rate amongst missionaries is due to preventable diseases. There will undoubtedly be a great diminution in the number of lives lost and also in the sickness rate. Fewer men will be invalided home; fewer will be permanently ruined in health. Definite statistics on this point are not available, but all the great missionary societies agree that already an improvement in these respects has been noticed.

The mission work will also benefit from having a healthier and happier constituency. The successful fight against disease has already had a marked effect on the whole outlook of native races. The enormous and apparently inevitable mortality and sickness, the nervous depression especially associated with malaria, have engendered a fatalism, a pessimism amongst the native races that have directly contributed to the continuance and spread of fetishism which prevails so largely in the lower types of tropical humanity. The destruction of their enemies gives them a brighter and happier outlook and puts them in a better condition to receive the message. The fact that they owe the extermination of their pests to the white man increases their readiness to respond, and the help they are receiving in their fight against their dreadful foes has made a great impression on them. This impression may not of itself be sufficient to turn them from their own religions, but Christianity has thereby invested them with a new idea which has changed the world for them and which strongly predisposes them in favour of the religion of Jesus Christ. The effect is intensified by the self-sacrifice, devotion, and untiring energy of European doctors and missionaries in actual conflict with the foe.

The extension of Western civilization to the East is raising up new nations. At times we are almost afraid of the creatures we are making. They are taking our scientific methods, they are adopting our military ways; they are competing with us in commerce with our own weapons;

they are becoming great and powerful. Will they take our religion? The opportunities for us are increasing beyond the dreams of the most confirmed visionaries. Our missionaries are able to live and prosper in parts of the world that have been dangerous to them, indeed almost closed to them. They are able to go with enhanced prestige. They are not only accompanied by the weapons of wealth and successful commercial enterprise, of learning and of war. They take also the inestimable blessing of health, and in taking it they show also the best and finest product of Western character, self-sacrifice, self-denial, and the power of forgetting self for the sake of saving the bodies of the people. Will not this help in saving their souls? The conquest of tropical disease ought to be one of the grandest adjuncts of missionary enterprise, and should give greater volume to the cry of 'The World for Christ.'

EDWARD WALKER.

A LEADER OF THE RENAISSANCE

The Adagia, gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus. By RICHARD TAVERN. (London, 1569.)

The Manual of the Christian Knight. (London : Methuen.)

In Praise of Folly. (London : Gibbings & Co., 1900.)

The Colloquies. (London : Gibbings & Co.)

Life and Letters of Erasmus : Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1893-4. By J. A. FROUDE. (London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1894.)

Epistles of Erasmus. To his 51st Year. 2 vols. F. M. NICHOLS. (London : Longmans, 1901-1904.)

IN celebrating the Tercentenary of the English Bible we have not forgotten the debt we owe to Erasmus. Tindale based his New Testament on the Revision of the great Dutch scholar, and the Authorized Version is but an improved edition of Tindale. So the Revised Version of 1880 comes to us in direct succession from the revised Greek Testament of Erasmus in 1566.

The character of Erasmus and his attitude to the Reformation is one of the battle-grounds of Church history. His figure stands out in brilliant individuality at the close of the Middle Ages, but who accepts him ? Romanists see in him the man who blew the great trumpet that waked the Continent from its long slumber. He was not the first. Others there were before him, and a greater was to follow, but he was the first to get the ear of all Europe. On the other hand, Protestants condemn him as the man who stood aloof from the advancing German hosts—the faint-hearted soldier who would not march with Luther.

The position which Erasmus took up is one which is not tolerated in controversy. Unless a man is a good party

man, a good hater of one side or the other, he is suspect of both, and displeases both. Erasmus said himself that he was regarded as 'a Lutheran at Rome and an anti-Lutheran in Germany.' The moderate man is relegated to the political or theological limbo to take his unhappy place among those whom neither side will have. Erasmus made his choice, and his reputation has suffered ever since. Time, however, is on the side of justice, and all lovers of truth must rejoice in the revived interest which is being taken in the life and writings of the author of the *Moria*, as seen in the new editions in Latin published by the Universities of Oxford and Ghent.

The letters and works of Erasmus—especially the letters—furnish the key to his character. In these effusions there is no concealment of motives. He is the frankest of correspondents, and lays bare the recesses of his mind with a candour which some would say was not prudent, but which certainly does not agree with the caution so freely attributed to him. Any one can read his thoughts. He is as well known as Dr. Johnson or Charles Lamb; and in the peculiar and delightful note which distinguishes his writings, he is more modern than either. That is why we love him, for, with all his faults, there was in him that fascinating quality which has endeared greater offenders than he to the hearts of mankind.

Nothing is easier than to excite prejudice against a man, especially when he has few or no defenders, and this is so much the case with Erasmus that it is more necessary than usual to read what he has written, and not be content with the verdict of historians who are often unconsciously biassed.

There is first the familiar charge that he lacked the courage of his convictions. He compromised with his conscience, it is said: he would not face the lions of Rome, for his heart failed him. This is a damaging indictment indeed, for it means that there was lacking in him the

essential attribute of manliness. Here is a pretty weight of infamy with which to load a famous name in its travel down the ages. This imputed cowardice is used, too, as a foil to set off the splendid fearlessness of the man who nailed his theses to the church door at Wittenberg, and braved the Diet of Worms.

It is useless to deny that Erasmus took alarm at the consequences of his own propaganda. The conflagration spread further than he had expected; but in trying to arrive at a fair estimate of his conduct, there are some considerations which should be taken into account. If the part he played in the mighty drama of the Reformation is to be discounted in favour of Luther, it seems only just to contrast his feeble physique with the magnificent animal vitality of the German Reformer. Let us set the portraits of the two men side by side, and then ask which had the larger fund of physical strength and nerve force on which to draw, in such a life-and-death struggle? And as the body so often is the temperament. Deficiency of power in the one implies deficiency of power in the other. Moreover, there was not in Erasmus that concentration of intellectual interests which means driving power. The great humanist had wide sympathies, and could see all round a subject. Opposite sides of a question, clearly seen, tend to neutralize each other.

This would be but a poor plea, even in the case of an average man, in defect of some principle of action: how much more so when advanced in excuse of Erasmus! He had a principle of conduct from which he never swerved. We shall endeavour to show that he had an aim, and that he stuck to it. And as to courage, the man who wrote the *Moria* and the *Colloquia*, and who never ceased to expose and denounce the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and of princes on whose protection he relied, ought not to be stigmatized as a coward.

Then his begging letters are adduced in depreciation of

him. Froude, with an eye to literary effect, has made too much of these. They are 'good copy,' as were the Carlyle letters. Let us imagine such supplicatory effusions appearing in future biographies of Tennyson or Matthew Arnold. They would be more entertaining to the reader, who has a taste for that kind of thing, than creditable to the writer. They would not be possible now, for times have changed since authors depended on patrons. But it is not many years since it was no disgrace to a man of letters to receive pecuniary aid, when engaged in important literary work. Erasmus could have earned a moderate living by teaching, and in other ways, but that would have used up the time required for his priceless studies. He knew well that he was working for the future, and he felt he had a right to be supported, and said so. None the less he disliked the humiliation of asking for money. He calls his applications for assistance 'fulsome stuff,' and in the *Adagia*, in commenting on the proverb 'Emerere malo quam rogare' ('I had liefer buy than beg'), says, 'To an honest heart it is death to beg, unless it be of a special friend.'

Doubts are also expressed as to the earnestness of his piety. It must be admitted, however, that, in an age when the standard was so low, his life stands out in striking contrast to the shameless profligacy of the priests and monks. He was constantly preaching purity of life, and, in character and conduct, he was an example of his teaching. The *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, written at the request of a lady for the benefit of her husband, must not be regarded merely as the automatic performance of a man who understood the theory of religion just as he understood Latin, Greek, or anything else belonging to the stock-in-trade of a professional writer. We take it as in part the self-revelation of Erasmus. It is as good a book as we know for moulding the character of a young man, sincerely wishful to live a virtuous and Christian life. The chief value of the book lies in the fact that it is not an exposition of

Catholic dogma and ritual: it might even be claimed that it is Protestant and evangelical. Erasmus himself says 'that it was designed to counteract the error of those who place piety in ceremonies and external observances, but neglect its very essence.' Under the sixth rule he says—

The only and most perfect nobleness is to be regenerate in Christ, and to be grafted and planted in the body of Him, to be one body and spirit with God. Let other men be kings' sons, let it be the greatest honour that can be that thou art called, and art so indeed, the son of God.

And again—

True and only pleasure is the inward joy of a pure conscience. The most noble and daintiest dish that can be is the study of Holy Scripture. The most delectable songs be the psalms indited of the Holy Ghost. The most pleasant fellowship is the communion of all saints. The highest dainties of all are the fruition and enjoying of the very truth. Purge now thy eyes, purge thy ears, purge thy very mouth, and Christ shall begin to wax sweet and pleasant to thee.

He calls the *Enchiridion* 'The shortest way to Christ,' and the book is saturated with Scripture. Moreover, as we read we feel it to be the expression of his own experience. He had not been in the hell of spiritual conflict like Luther—he was a different type; his was not so strong a nature. He was above all things a man of letters, and perhaps he loved the muses too well, yet the *Enchiridion* is, more or less, the transcript of struggles through which he had passed, and had yet to pass, and, so far as its autobiographical value is concerned, must be considered in any fair estimate of his character.

Erasmus was the most brilliant man of letters of his age. Apart from his other achievement, which we shall notice, there is his editing of the Fathers and the Greek and Roman Classics, with some translations—a range of performance which places him easily first, as a leader of the Renaissance. May it not be said that no other writer ever occupied the same commanding position in his own time that Erasmus did in his? We might go even further, and claim for him

that—leaving out the men of purely creative genius—he was the greatest literary man who ever lived. His amount and variety of production, his scholarship, his humour, his ease and grace of style, and that subtle incommunicable power to place himself in sympathetic touch with all periods and conditions of life, which implies genius—all unite to set him on a throne of his own, from which he has never been deposed.

The subject before us is admittedly full of complexity, and hence, in forming a judgement, it is safest to take the broadest view of the aim and achievement of Erasmus. His work was the emancipation of the intellect of Europe. Luther won for Germany the inestimable blessing of moral and religious freedom, which of course includes the liberation of the mind. The influence of Erasmus, if not so deep, was more widely diffused. He was listened to where Luther would not be heard. He obtained the ear of all Europe, especially of the educated classes.

In the pathetic story of *The Cloister and the Hearth*—in which his father Gerard is the chief character—we have a true and vivid picture of the state of Europe just before the coming of Erasmus. The intellectual atmosphere was stifling; there was no liberty of inquiry, no discussion of things pertaining to Church and State. The authority of Rome closed every avenue of free thought. Erasmus changed all that. He opened the doors and windows of the human mind, and let in the fresh air of criticism and unfettered investigation of matters of rule and custom, of privilege and prescription. He restored reason to its rightful place in the conduct of human affairs, and, in so doing, struck a fatal blow at the papal infallibility and the pretensions of the Roman Hierarchy. He was the Emancipator of the intellect of Europe.

The first step, in order of importance, by Erasmus in the work of emancipation was the publication of his New Testament. He did for the New Testament what Reuchlin

did for the Old. The Bible had been practically a closed book, kept, so to speak, under lock and key, as Luther found, in the Augustinian convent. The Vulgate was the only version in use. The Gospels and Epistles were doled out to the congregations by the priests. After years of research and labour, during which 'he worked with the strength of ten,' Erasmus published the New Testament in the original Greek, having collated the available MSS., together with a new Latin translation, and with prefaces and annotations, in which the Church of Rome, as it then was, with its indolence, its pomps and corruptions, was contrasted with the lives and teachings of Christ and the Apostles. Paraphrases were subsequently added, in order to make the meaning clearer. The scholarship would not perhaps be accounted much in these days, but he was the first to apply the principles of textual criticism to the New Testament, and so may be said to have been the founder of a school of experts. In his prefaces and notes the Roman hierarchy was gibbeted in view of all Europe, by a master of satirical humour and invective. The effect, as Froude says, was 'a spiritual earthquake.' The exposure was terrific, and the demand for the book was enormous. It ran through many editions; 100,000 copies were sold in France alone. Court and camp rang with laughter at the *débâcle* of the ecclesiastical reputation. The priests were furious, and if they could have given effect to their malice, the life of Erasmus would have been the price of his temerity, but his work was not finished, and Providence watched over his safety. We cannot forbear here quoting the well-known passage—

It is not from human reservoirs fetid with stagnant waters, that we draw the doctrine of salvation; but from the pure and abundant streams that flow from the heart of God.

The Holy Scriptures, translated into all languages, should be read not only by the Scotch and Irish, but even by Turks and Saracens. The husbandman should sing them as he holds the handle of his plough, the weaver repeat them as he plies his shuttle, and the weary traveller, halting on his journey, refresh him under some shady tree by these godly narratives.

Of his own writings the *Adagia* comes first in point of time. It is a collection of proverbs, taken from the classical writers, with parallel English adages, and his own witty comments and scathing attacks on the evils of the times, both in Church and State. The success of the book—introducing as it did a new and delightful note into the literature of the age—was immense.

After this came the *Encomium Moriae*, in which Erasmus pursues the attack with greater vigour than ever. In this remarkable work—the most brilliant that Erasmus ever wrote—Folly claims that she rules the world, and for the advancement and happiness of mankind. The book is the keenest satire, and shows that Erasmus had the terrible gift of Swift, without his hatred of the race. The humour is the humour of inverted argument. We are transported into the land of topsy-turvydom. Folly assumes the rôle of the philosopher and reasons with comic seriousness. By a curious process of logic she carries us from absurdity to absurdity, until the most amazing and amusing results are reached. As a sheer effort of wit it has never been surpassed. It need not be said that the sincerity of the writer is undeniable, and the purpose of the satire evident. Towards the close Moria drops her mask and cap and bells, and sits in grave and warning judgement on the religious and other evils of the age.

But perhaps the most daring excursion of the satire of Erasmus is seen in the pasquinade, *Julius II, Exclusus*. This is a drama in which the warlike and dissolute pope, after death, demands admittance at the gate of heaven, of which Peter holds the keys. The unapostolic life of the notorious pontiff is the ground of refusal. The scene is irresistible, and reminds us of Byron's *Vision of Judgement*, though the later work is profane, and without any serious intent.

It is difficult in these days when the press is free and nothing is sacred, to imagine the effect of such daring

criticism of an ancient Church—the only Church—the omnipotent Church that held the souls and bodies of men in its power. The little Dutchman stood in front of an institution whose shadow rested on the whole world, and hurled his weapons at it, as if reverence for it and regard for personal consequences were not to be thought of. It would seem as if Thor had come to Jotenheim. Yet with a temperamental breadth of view, not exactly according to Papal tradition and assumption, Leo X was friendly. Threatened by the Inquisition, yet protected by the Emperor Charles V, and courted by all the monarchs of Europe, and with the intellect and education of the entire Continent ranged on his side, Erasmus continued the campaign. The *Colloquies* followed. Here the whole state of Europe is reviewed in a series of witty dialogues, after the manner of Lucian. The book is a perfect quarry for the historian of the times. Pepys' *Diary*, or the *Spectator* of Addison and Steele, do not present a truer portraiture of their respective periods than does this literary cinematograph. All society comes on the vast stage. The Church of Rome, with its indulgences, fasts, pilgrimages, invocation of the Virgin Mary and the saints, is dealt with in as unsparing a manner as more deadly errors were, long after, by Pascal. The latter, however, had more material to work on, as the Casuists, Escobar, Le Moine, and others, had then arrived, with their doctrine of intention, their sophistries and lies.

Erasmus closes the preface to the *Colloquies* with these words: 'May that Spirit, which is the pacifier of all, whose instruments we are in various ways, make us all agree and consent in sound doctrine and holy manners, that we may all come to the fellowship of the New Jerusalem that knows no discords.'

Erasmus sincerely wished to reform the Church of Rome. It is not fair, whilst allowing that his books, which were sold by hundreds of thousands, were a root-and-

branch exposure of a corrupt system, to deny to him the motive of his work. Nor is it just to take hold of byplay confidences in his correspondence and place his character on trial on the ground of such doubtful evidence. Understanding his temperament, it is easy to explain his apparently inconsistent avowals. Erasmus has been rightly described as a man of moods. He was sensitive, as genius is, to the atmosphere of the moment. Moreover he was a rhetorician, and loved emphasis. He never tried to guard his utterances. He did not write like a man on view. He liked to give his mind plenty of sea room. In a case like this a man must be judged ultimately by his actions, and we know that he never strayed far from the central principle and conviction of his life. There was a distinct purpose, a connecting motive, in all his serious writing, and in all that he did.

Secure in our Protestant strength, it is easy to criticize his methods and say 'The devil is not expelled by rose-water.' His *New Testament* and the *Moria* and *Colloquia* were not rose-water. They opened the intellectual dungeons of Europe, and prepared the way for Luther. The Man of Letters was the forerunner of the Man of Action. Nor does Erasmus, when, late in life, and in much weakness and weariness, he said, deprecatingly, that 'he had laid a hen's egg, but Luther had hatched a game-cock,' do justice to the part he had taken in the advancing Reformation. The Julian Dialogue was not a hen's egg; Erasmus laid a game-cock's egg, but Luther hatched it. D'Aubigné quotes the saying of Fontaine, that 'Luther had only opened the door after Erasmus had picked the lock.'

Erasmus's relations to Luther is one of the questions of ecclesiastical history. It is difficult to settle, but it must be considered in any attempted estimate of his character and work. One could have wished that the issue had been different. If so, what would have been the effect on Europe? Erasmus soon found that the pace of Luther

was too great for him, and that they were parting company. In their correspondence there was, as there always is in such cases, where it is felt that the friendship must be kept up, a studied restraint on both sides. At last the suppressed feeling comes out. Erasmus 'fears that Luther is constructing a new Protestant Theology which might be as intolerant as the Catholic.' Luther retorts, and he was not the man to measure his words. Erasmus had made up his mind. 'Others may be martyrs,' he said, 'if they like. I aspire to no such honour.' 'Luther had an excellent cause, but was imprudent.' He intended, he said, 'to avoid both Scylla and Charybdis.' Yet he urged the Elector of Saxony 'not to give Luther up,' and ceased not to denounce persecution.

The Pope wrote to Erasmus, asking him, in effect, to crush Luther, and he should have a Bishopric. Erasmus was not to be bribed, and advised the Pope 'to reform the abuses.' Pressed by his friends, More and Fisher, to comply with the Pope's wish, he at last consented, and entered the field against Luther, but he would not attack the reformer personally. All he did was to engage in an abstract discussion of a question in metaphysical theology. He sent forth his *De Libero Arbitrio*. Luther replied strongly with his *De Servo Arbitrio*. Erasmus had aimed a blow at the throat of Luther's doctrine of Free Will, but his pamphlet was regarded as a milk-and-water production by the Curia. What they wanted was more vim, more bite, more sting. That was exactly what Erasmus, with all his armoury of satire and rhetoric, had made up his mind to avoid. Whatever the provocation he would not be provoked, but met Luther's assaults with courtesy. He had, moreover, the courage to stand up for him. He said 'that Luther had administered an acrid dose to a diseased body. God grant it may prove salutary,' and added that 'Luther could not have succeeded if God had not been with him.' When More urged harder hitting, Erasmus refused to go any

further. He thought that 'in the negative part of his teaching Luther was right, and that he would not be found fighting against God.' Space will not permit us to pursue the story of a painful breach between two men to both of whom we owe so much. Luther went his way with growing strength. Erasmus remained in the Church out of which, with all its faults, he once professed to believe salvation could not be found.

If Erasmus had come into line with Luther, would the alliance have turned the balance against Rome? He evidently thought so. 'Had I held out but a little finger to Luther, Germany would have seen what I could do.' Froude endorses this when he remarks 'that had Erasmus come to Luther's help, Luther would have gained the victory at Worms.' As it was, Luther split Germany, two-thirds becoming Protestant. Northern and Southern Europe took opposite sides. A century later, in the Thirty Years' War, the hostile camps of Gustavus Adolphus and the Emperor Ferdinand represented the Protestant and Catholic division of the Continent. If Erasmus had followed Luther, would their united strength have made any decisive impression on the South Germans and the Latin nations?

We doubt it. Luther had exhausted the possibilities of the Reformation—for the time, and Erasmus was not one to turn the scale of battle. But there cannot be a doubt that his remaining in the ancient fold was regarded as a victory at Rome. Otherwise there was not much to be enthusiastic over. Erasmus cared little for ritual or dogma. On the subject of the Real Presence he said that 'it is enough that spiritual grace be found in the symbols'; and Zwingle, who differed from Luther, who still held to the doctrine of transubstantiation, admitted his indebtedness to Erasmus for his own position on that question. It is true that, as time went on, the excesses—as he deemed them—of the Reformers produced a reaction in his own mind, and reconciled Erasmus more to the Roman doctrine

and system; though the last moments of his life, to which we shall refer, showed how far he really was from Rome.

It is thought by some sincere reformers, both inside and outside the Roman Church, that Erasmus was right in taking up the middle position. Old Catholics and Modernists, High Churchmen and even some Protestants, incline to the belief that reform must come from within. 'You cannot destroy the Church of Rome,' they say. 'It has been attempted again and again, and it never has been done—and it never will.' When we remember its imperious claim to authority, its marvellous organization, its profound knowledge of human nature, and, let us gladly admit it—in spite of its shameful history—its glorious dower of saintly lives, we cease to wonder at its apparently inexhaustible vitality. But, as it is with all other institutions, it can only expect, or rather ensure, perpetuity of existence, in so far as it can bring its formulas and system into accord with the teachings of the New Testament. Can it ever do that and still be the Church of Rome? Is it possible to find the mean between Papal authority and Protestant freedom which would solve the difficulty? Would an 'infallible' Church ever accept such a point of agreement as a working basis within, or as a *concordat* with those who are without, with a view to reunion? We do not think so; and as to those of us who are without, we could not consent without sacrificing our *raison d'être*. We prefer truth to compromise, even though it might bring union. If Erasmus attempted the impossible, we may be thankful for that which he did accomplish in the emancipation of the mind of Europe.

As to his personal attitude to the Reformation, is it not a fact that there are some things which some men cannot do? Erasmus certainly was not the man to take off his coat and join in the fray. He did not see it to be his duty, and besides, he was never strong physically, and was now getting old and had many infirmities. He was tired of

the controversy, and shrank from the pain and risk of personal conflict and persecution. He had done his work, and it was large and far-reaching. He had preached repentance, and had prepared the way for Luther. And when all is said and done, he had been consistent; he had not broken any promise; he had kept faith with his aims and convictions. It can be claimed for him that there was in him 'unity of character.' And now he wanted to be let alone, and to die in peace. If there ever was a case for the application of the eternal law of charity, as laid down by St. Paul, it is the final choice of Erasmus.

When the end came it was in perfect harmony with the life and the work. His last book—written during his last illness—was on *The Purity of the Church*. He did not send for a confessor. He died without the offices of the Church. His trust, expressed again and again, was in the alone merit of Christ, just as he had taught in the *Enchiridion* long years before, and often since repeated. With the words—as it were of a little child—'Lieber Gott' on his lips, he passed away. In his will, money was left for the aged and infirm, for portionless girls, and for the education of young men of promise, but nothing for masses and nothing for the Church.

In history there will always be men of pronounced views, who lean to moderate courses. They seek the same goal as their bolder comrades, but prefer to take the longer and, as they think, the safer path. They may not reach the goal—neither may the other! History gives full and deserved credit to the great paladin of the Reformation, the national hero of Germany, the grandest figure in the drama of the Christian Church since the days of the Apostles; homely, rugged, tender, strong, the man who gave the Bible to his nation in their own tongue, and, by his hymns and tunes, won for Germany a place of highest honour in the spiritual music of all races,—Luther, a name to live as long as flows the Rhine, the sacred boundary

and symbol of United Germany. If we are thankful for Erasmus, we are still more thankful for Martin Luther.

But let us not refuse to Erasmus his meed of praise. More and more do men's thoughts turn to the pale, indefatigable scholar, the first Reviser of the New Testament; the writer of immortal books, fresh and young as when they came from his hand, radiant with the genius of humour, yet irresistible in fact and argument; the lover of England and things English; the charming companion; the brilliant conversationalist—increasingly dear to all who can render homage to the men who use the pen as a sword, and who unite the gentle art of letters with the sacred offices of Truth.

R. W. G. HUNTER.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

✓ *A History of the Revolutionary Rising in Kwangtung.*
Anonymous.

THE brochure which stands at the head of this article was written and published in the south of China. It was at once popular, and was widely circulated amongst all classes of society. It describes, in very vigorous language, the abortive attempt made to capture Canton, and massacre the local officials, on April 25, 1911. The pamphlet makes no claim to literary excellence, but aims at accurately describing what happened. The names of the leaders who sacrificed their lives are recorded. Their unhallowed tombs have since then been honoured by garlands of flowers, and their spirits been appeased by many sacrifices. The causes of the insurrection are also explained and emphasized, as well as the aims of the Reformers, which are duly extolled. The pamphlet will probably have but an ephemeral notoriety, for it has done its work. The ill-starred insurrection which its pages record is swallowed up in the vaster revolution which has just shaken down the ancient, time-worn canker-eaten throne of the Manchus, and buried underneath the ruins both the infant Emperor and his father, the Regent. The causes, progress, and probable issues of this sudden and startling revolution are matters of vital import, both to those Western readers concerned for Mission work and those who are interested in the onward march of one of the greatest nations of the earth.

The revolutionary drama has been carried on with fierce determination and wild enthusiasm all over China, and has not lacked spectators, sympathizers, and applauders who

have watched its progress with fixed eyes, and in many cases with interested motives. It may not be without interest to compare the present revolution with that which destroyed the Ming dynasty, in which we shall be able to trace the disintegrative action and reaction of powerful forces, checked and counterchecked, until at last the Manchus, blood-stained, indeed, emerged, grasping and wielding authority.

The Ming dynasty reigned in China from A.D. 1368 to 1644—that is to say for two hundred and seventy years; it will be seen that the Manchu dynasty has reigned two hundred and sixty-five years. The last Emperors of the Ming dynasty were young, dissolute, short-lived, and, in some cases, left no heir to fill the vacant throne. The recent Emperors of the late Ta'i Ts'ing dynasty have also been dissolute, with the single exception perhaps of Kwang Hsui, who was held within bounds by the grip of the Empress Dowager; they have been haughty, ignorant, and incapable. Hien Fung left but one son, who came to the throne at the age of six. He is known as Tung Chih, and died at the age of twenty, of small-pox, but left no heir. Kwang Hsui, who followed him, died childless, and the late Emperor is a boy of six. It will be seen that one of the circumstances that helped to overthrow the Ming dynasty has been repeated during the recent years of the late reigning family, and the Chinese, who are greatly influenced by precedent, saw, in these parallel circumstances, Heaven's fiat that the work of the Manchu dynasty was finished, and therefore it had to go.

We have already referred to one unhappy circumstance that materially weakened the once powerful Mings, viz. the short-lived heirless lives of several of the last Emperors. But the two determining factors of the dynasty's overthrow were the pitiful weakness of the internal administration and the haughty contempt with which the ministers treated 'outside barbarians,' whether northern Nomads beyond the great wall, or western traders that clamoured for trade

privileges at the gates of the several seaports on the coast. Let us glance first at the internal administration. Rapacious officials, cruel torture of prisoners, idle indifference to duty, licentiousness, and a haughty contempt of the rising tide of discontent, all alike contributed their share to the dire calamity that finally overwhelmed the last Emperors and submerged the throne. These things were borne with by the people till human patience could endure no more. The inevitable rebellions followed, which in turn were temporarily suppressed, with atrocious cruelties and the shedding of rivers of blood, only to break out afresh in a new centre and with increased rancour.

There came a time, however, when one of these revolutionary armies was too numerous and too strong to be scattered. It was led by one Li Tsi-chung. It had its origin in the province of Shensi. The Imperialists were at first victorious over the rebels, and scattered them; but their leader escaped, and ere long succeeded in creating another army of insurgents more fierce and terrible than the first. As an example of the wild rage and mad passion of those days, we may refer to the sacking of Ka'i Fong, the capital of Honan, which General Li had invested no less than three times. In the second assault he lost an eye by an arrow. The third time, after he had besieged the place for nine months, without obtaining any substantial advantage, 'he opened a passage from the Yellow River, and allowed its waters to inundate the city.' The confusion was indescribable. Rich and poor, young and old, male and female, were engulfed in the surging waters, which in some places rose to the enormous height of twenty feet. Historians say that more than a million lives were sacrificed within a few hours. Li, however, had swept away the stubborn city and created terror in the minds of those who had hitherto opposed his triumphant march. Peking, the capital, now lay exposed before the revolutionary general. The weak-kneed Emperor saw his fate approaching. He first killed

the ladies of his harem. He then wrote a note with his own blood, asking the rebel chief to mutilate his body but to spare his subjects; he finally hanged himself with his own girdle.

We have already said that not only was the internal administration during the last years of the Ming dynasty pitifully weak, but the rulers treated with haughty contempt 'outside barbarians.' We refer for a moment, as less important than the other, to their treatment of the strangers from the West. These strangers were first Portuguese, then Dutch. The last first saw China in 1622, with a squadron of twelve ships. These two countries also sent, not only traders and diplomats, but missionaries, apostles of both ancient and reformed ecclesiastical Christianity. We are not careful here to pass in review all that happened. The treatment of the Dutch embassy at Peking, after submitting to huge exactions and unconscionable delays in Canton, is typical of the Chinese character and suggestive of the working of the Celestial mind. The same attitude has been assumed, and the same haughty arrogance shown to embassies since then, which were less easily brooked, and which ultimately necessitated retaliation. It is true that the Dutch embassy was not sent till 1655, but much had happened in the past, and the contempt with which this embassy was received was but the climax of a long series of haughty insults. 'At length they were admitted into the palace, where they waited all night in an open court, in expectation of seeing His Majesty early next day.' They did, indeed, see the Son of Heaven, but no word was spoken. Presents, regarded as tribute, were presented and received. There the affair ended. The Emperor's edict on the 'negotiations' contained the following paragraph. 'We do heartily grant them leave to come once every eight years to pay tribute to this court: and this we do, to make known to the universe our affection for the people of the remotest parts.' The Emperor who promulgated this remarkable document, it

is true, was the first of the Manchus, but he is simply exhibiting the spirit and haughtiness he inherited from the fallen Mings, and which they had showed both to Dutch and Portuguese alike during their last years, before either party thought fit to attempt or were allowed to arrange a diplomatic embassy to the court of the Emperor. This fiasco no doubt offered much amusement to the actors, as much indeed as a farce usually does to the audience. But they repeated it too often, and their laughter was at last choked in tears.

The haughtiness shown towards the 'western barbarian' was humility itself compared to the treatment which the decadent Mings offered to the northern Nomads. The revenge of the latter was proportionately fierce and complete. At that time there lived in the north-east of Asia a tribe of Nomads, over whom Noorachu ruled. Before he had acquired the influence which he wielded in 1599 he had met and crushed several chiefs of his own race who had opposed him. Whilst he was engaged in bringing into subjection his various near neighbours, the Chinese had gratuitously interfered with and thwarted him. He soon, therefore, perceived that ere he could reach the summit of his ambition, the Chinese must be taught to mind their own business, and must be crushed and humbled in battle. His first attempts were gloriously successful. In five days he won three decisive and brilliant victories, partly through the bad generalship of the Chinese commanders. These victories not only strengthened his own position, but depleted the Chinese army of forty-six thousand warriors, who had been slain during these three bloody days. By the year 1625 Noorachu was so far successful that he was able to declare Mukden the capital of his new kingdom. The following year he died. His son reigned in his stead. Now was the hour for peace, but China rejected the opportunity scornfully and it passed by and never returned.

The son, Ta'i Tsung, inherited the identical ambition

that floated before the mind of his father, and in order to realize it determined to attack and invest Peking. In this expedition he was unsuccessful, and was compelled to retreat with enormous loss.

Meanwhile Peking had fallen into the hands of the arch-rebel Li Tsi-chung. He ordered the Ming officials, civil and military, to submit within three days, or lose their heads, whichever they preferred. Among those who hesitated was a Chinese general named Wu San-kwei. He was guarding the northern fortress, Ning Yuen, against the Manchus, who had been content, after their repulse from Peking, to await events in their own home. There, moreover, they had been kept in check by San-kwei. The latter had decided to comply with Li's demands, when he learnt from private sources that a favourite and beautiful concubine, who had been given to San-kwei by a high official and had been left in Peking, was in the hands of the rebels. He was enraged beyond self-control; and instead of proceeding to the capital, as he had intended, and paying fealty to the new upstart Emperor, he returned to his old post. He thereupon wrote a bitter letter to his father, who had already submitted, whom he charged with the loss of the lady. He wrote a second letter to the Manchu general, his old enemy, and in this he besought his aid to drive the upstart Emperor out of Peking, and save the decadent Ming dynasty from utter extinction. Ta'i Tsung, ere this, was dead, and his ninth son reigned in his stead. But the Regent, his uncle, was a man of prompt decision and immediate action. He at once, and with the utmost willingness, complied with the request. We need not follow the track of the terrible events that followed. The rebel emperor Li was driven out of Peking, and the Manchu leader determined that his nephew should reign in his stead. With a stroke of genius he continued to foster the rage and jealousy of San-kwei, and sent him south and west to scatter and annihilate the fleeing rabble of the upstart Li.

The Manchu leader immediately removed his capital from Mukden to Peking, proclaimed his nephew Emperor, and proceeded to issue edicts under an Imperial seal. The Manchus were absolute masters of the north of China, and were determined to rule, ere long, the entire Empire from frozen north to the sunny south. We see, therefore, that hopeless inability, self-centred haughtiness, and outrageous human passions were the factors that conduced to the ultimate fall of the Ming dynasty. The Empire fell into the hands of hardy Nomads through the personal jealousy of a Chinese general, who was impelled to this perfidy in order to gratify his personal rage at the loss of a woman whom he loved.

It is a long step from 1644 to 1911. But this step we now propose to take, and we shall find that the forces of destruction which were so effective for evil during the declining years of the moribund Mings have again been active, and have worked out the same unhappy issues in the fortunes of the late dynasty. We have already referred to the effeminate and helpless Emperors of the last fifty years. It is true that the fatal day was postponed by the dominating will and determined action of the strong-minded woman who really ruled China during the last fifty years. When she died, the all-powerful personality was wanting. The nerveless hands of the late rulers of China have been found altogether too feeble to hold the reins of government and direct the chariot of state. Hence it has been driven into a ditch, has overturned, and the results are before us.

Probably the recent terrible taxation has been the most exasperating irritant of the people, whose leaders at last became convinced that there was no deliverance from this burden except by a national revolution which should effectually remove the incubus from their shoulders. Recently a published tract fell into our hands which was sold broadcast in the streets of the British colony of Hong-

Kong for a farthing. Therein the burdens of taxation were shown in all their hideous bareness. Apart from the custom-house dues, paid on all merchandise imported into or exported from the ports of China, there are many other ways in which the officials manage to squeeze money out of the pockets of the people. They tax houses and fields; transfers of property and emigrants leaving the country; distillers and retail dealers in spirits; firewood and oil; butchers' meat and rice; prostitution and gambling. In short there is no commodity that can escape. Moreover, it is not the taxation itself that maddens the people, terrible as this is. The method of collecting the taxes is exasperating in the extreme. Along a river's route with which we are familiar, whose limits do not cover two hundred and forty miles, there are six lekin stations. Lekin corresponds roughly to the octroi of the French. The native cargo boats are held up at these stations not only long enough to effect a clearance, but they are detained as long as the officials see fit, ere they are released. Often enough they are compelled to pay extra sums before the boat is allowed to pass on. We saw in a recent paper that the moneys thus illegally squeezed from the people are greater than those legitimately demanded by the officers in charge of these stations. It will be seen from this statement, by no means over-coloured, we believe, that the people are compelled to pay large sums, extracted from their pockets in a way that annoys to the last degree, and these sums, it is believed, go into the pockets of those who receive them. The money is squandered in licentious extravagance and personal gratification, and therefore does not in any way assist in the support of the Government, whose duty it is to protect the people from the ills of life, and especially from robbers.

Perhaps the most effective factor in bringing about the present climax in China has been the native newspaper. Twenty years ago the vernacular newspaper did not exist.

I am not forgetful of the *Peking Gazette*, but that can safely be ignored. The first native paper published in Canton was issued under foreign patronage, and was printed on the British Concession. It was comparatively harmless as a political force, but it showed thoughtful men that a native paper could be a powerful agent for distributing actual knowledge, as well as an unparalleled medium for the propaganda of new ideas. In the older days, if there were a local rebellion no one knew of it except the official under whose jurisdiction it occurred. Whether the disturbed people were handled with humane consideration for life and property, or cut down with ruthless savagery, was known only to those who acted and suffered, and to those living in the vicinity. Now, all this is changed. Recently there was a local rebellion against the heavy taxation in Shantung. This uprising was suppressed with terrible severity. Everybody who could read, throughout the cities of China, read the published reports and shuddered at the cruelties perpetrated, till the blood boiled and the faces were bedimmed with tears. Previous Empress Dowagers and court eunuchs might waste and squander public funds to their hearts' content, and few were aware of the facts. Now, a native editor will publish a complete statement of the vast sums squandered. We read an article lately dealing with the terrible extravagance of the late Empress Dowager, which was the more effective because the writer said bluntly that the 'Old Buddha' had commandeered money levied for the support of the navy, in order to build palaces and gardens for her own pleasure, and so the ill-equipped ships of China's squadron went to meet the ships of Japan, and were sunk without being able to retaliate. In the olden days, if a Foreign Power sliced off a portion of the Chinese Empire, however important, the masses knew nothing about it: to-day if there is a dispute about the delimitation of Portuguese territory, or with the British about some question on the borders of Burma, the Chinese

are all familiar with the fact. There is anger at foreign interference, but there is fiercer anger at the rulers of China because they cannot protect their own domains. The writers charge the officials with selling China in order to preserve the throne and the palaces in Peking. Contemptuous scoffing and biting satire are flung at the Emperor and his advisers, whom aforetime the people referred to with bated breath and trembling awe.

But the papers have done more than this. Had they done nothing but vilify the officials, and expose their cruelty and tyranny, things would have remained as they were. They have opened up to the reading, and therefore to the most important section of the Chinese people, the Governments, the politics, the Parliaments, the privileges, and the freedom of Western nations. The antiquated and impossible system of China began to appear to the people, by comparison with the West, what a skeleton, clothed in the moth-eaten garments of the days of George III, would be, if it were suddenly seen standing side by side with a modern member of Parliament or the head of one of our successful business concerns. The contrast would be arresting; but it would be also hideous. Those who looked upon the effete anachronism called the Government of China, when compared with the Governments of the West, just felt the same, and have endeavoured to escape therefrom with the eagerness with which a child would run from a walking skeleton. We have but touched upon the fringe of a big question. The searchlight of the Chinese press was of course not in existence in the last days of the Mings, and so the revelation of the hideous bareness and uselessness of the Government could not be revealed with the same suddenness as has been the case with the Tai Ts'ings. For ten years the native newspaper has played an important part in fomenting and fostering the revolution that has come to pass.

Another factor in the problem to-day, that was altogether wanting at the earlier epoch, is the attitude and influence

of a new race of Chinese students. Any one wanting to understand the status and character of the genus 'student' in China should read the *Spectator* for Oct. 21. Most that the author there asserts will be heartily supported by residents in this country. We cannot speak too emphatically of the enormous impetus which Chinese students who have studied in foreign universities and schools have given to the present movement. The radical tendencies that are supposed to stir the blood of most students, and allure them to believe that they can accomplish in a leap what their fathers have failed to achieve after a day's march, have been imbibed by Chinese 'who have been through' Berlin, Oxford, Yale and Tokyo. We need not labour this contention. Sun Yat Sen has no doubt suffered much, studied hard, and thought deeply. He is at their head. He has now found his way back to China, from which he has been banished during twenty long years. He is reported a thorough-going Republican, and has played a large part in the establishment of that form of Government in China. At the head of another though smaller section was Hang Yau-wei, who stood for constitutional government, with the reigning family on the throne. The Government was to be a limited monarchy, after the model of Germany, or perhaps after the type of Great Britain. Most of the students, those still in foreign lands, as well as those who have returned, flocked after Sun Yat Sen. They affirm that when the mainspring of a watch has been broken it can with difficulty be repaired. It should be discarded and a new one substituted. The influx of Chinese students, who have studied with more or less thoroughness abroad, has greatly accelerated the rate of disintegration that has been going on, for with negligible exceptions they aim at a thorough cleansing of the Augean stables, though they may have to be cleansed with blood.

During the last five years several abortive revolutions have been attempted, whose leaders have failed, and were

either shot at the time, or executed immediately after. The first of these was attempted in the Kiangsu province. Ts'ui Sik-lun, a young soldier, succeeded in enlisting in the Imperial guards. His aim was to spread disaffection among the loyal soldiers, with a view to a revolt. He was too precipitate. He killed the Governor of the province, Yan Ming. There was a flash in the pan, which was suddenly quenched in blood. Another serious attempt was made in 1908, in Yam Chau in the Kwangtung province. This at first met with considerable success. The insurgents defeated the Imperialists and captured a fortress or two. The alleged cause of the collapse was a lack of ammunition and a badly organized commissariat. Canton has been the storm centre where at least two uprisings have been attempted. In the autumn of 1909 an attack was planned. Ngai, the leader, had been a student in Japan. After some experience in other parts of China he came to Canton, and attempted to organize an uprising. His efforts met with considerable success. The newly trained soldiers were allured to his side. Many were involved in the plot. On the last night of the Chinese year in February 1910 there was a quarrel between some of the new army and the Manchu bannermen. Ngai saw at once that his plans had failed, for the skirmish would lead to a premature revolution. He was right. Ngai led his men, and attempted the impossible. At the first discharge of arms he was desperately wounded. 'Several Imperialists seized him, and led him a prisoner before their general. Though wounded, Ngai shouted to his men to charge. The Imperialist general stabbed him on the spot. Thereupon the revolutionists fled, and were cut down in considerable numbers.' This attempt ended in utter disorganization, and many of the men of the new army lost their lives without making any impression on their enemies. Another determined attempt was made to capture Canton during April 1911. Most of the participants were queueless Chinese, who had returned

from the Straits Settlements with the avowed purpose of capturing the great city. About seventy of them took passage from Hong-Kong to Canton, and suddenly invaded with reckless courage, the Viceroy's yamen. They were armed with revolvers. The attack was desperate. They had pledged one another either to die or achieve their purpose. The thing, however, was impossible, with the force available. The soldiers of the Viceroy were immediately on the alert, and regarded the insurgents as no other than bandits. The guards at once opened a furious fire upon the insurgents, most of whom were killed. Thereafter a reign of terror was instituted. Queueless Chinese were suspected as traitors, and were arrested in large numbers; many of these, whose interest in the rebellion was confined to sympathy with the desperate men's purpose, lost their heads. Moreover, during the year 1911, two Tartar generals in the garrison of Manchu bannermen have been assassinated. The first was shot, and his assassin revelled in the deed of blood, even on the execution ground. The second was blown to pieces by a bomb, thrown from the roof of a house, on the day that he landed in Canton to take over his duties. It will be seen, from this brief survey, that the recent outbreak is by no means the first that has been attempted, though most of the others were confined to the turbulent and Manchu-hating inhabitants of the Kwangtung province.

The late revolution took the outside world by surprise, for it came as a bolt from the blue. Most people thought that, after the defeat in Canton, the rebels would be depressed for some time, though everybody knew that their work was not at an end. But the unexpected happened with the suddenness of an explosion of a restless volcano. On October 12 the revolutionists, apparently springing from the ground, rose, and in a few days captured the three great cities of Central China—Wuchang, the official capital, Hankow, the commercial capital, and Hanyang, the manufacturing capital.

The leader of this revolt was Li Yuen Hung, and it may not be amiss here to give a brief summary of his life. He is fifty-seven years of age, and is a native of the Hupeh province. He graduated first-class in the Peiyang Naval College and saw active service in the Japan-Chinese war. The cruiser in which he served was sunk, but he was saved. Soon after he was attached to Chang Chih-tung, the great Viceroy of the central provinces. Chang trusted him because he was incorruptible and straightforward. He set himself to form a strong provincial army, and during the following years his influence greatly increased. He was, however, unable to get the supreme command of the provincial troops, which was his ambition, for the way was blocked by Chiang Tiao, the Manchu commander-in-chief, who, though far inferior in ability, was the nominal head. When Viceroy Chang went to Peking, Jui Cheng, the new Viceroy, flattered by Chiang Tiao, made the outlook more dark and less hopeful for Li. He saw clearly enough that he had nothing to hope for from the new Viceroy, and this conclusion seems to have influenced his movements and ultimately led him to take the momentous stand with which all the world is now familiar. Before it was fashionable for Chinese students to rush to Japan, after the fall of Peking and the Japanese-Russian war, Li Yuen Hung went to Tokyo on his own initiative, taking with him about twenty men. He is also a graduate of a European college, and can speak both Japanese and English. He is said to be a strict disciplinarian, but just, and has a tendency to show mercy if there is sufficient cause. It will be seen from this brief sketch that the leader of the rebels was well prepared for his self-imposed task. He knows the army as well as the navy. He has studied both in the East and the West. He is in the prime of life. He knows men, both at home and abroad.

The taking of the three cities was a sudden success. After Wuchang was seized, a party of rebels, disguised as

Imperialists, went across the river and knocked at the gates of the arsenal at Hanyang. They pretended that they were loyalist soldiers who had escaped from Wuchang, and without suspecting treachery the gates of the arsenal were flung open to receive them. Thus, without a blow, they entered, seizing all the ammunition and the entire stock of arms.

The number of cities that went over to the revolutionary side without any fighting at all is remarkable. These were, in addition to Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow, which were conquered, Yochow, Changsha, Kiukiang, Huhow, Wuhu, Shanghai, Hangchow, Shao-shing, Ningpo, Soochow, Wusiah, Chinkiang, Taichowfu, Tsinanfu, Canton, Yunnanfu, Chefoo, Mukden, Foochow, Amoy and Tatung. A good map of China will show how vast was the area involved in the insurrection. The fact that so many cities turned aside from their lawful rulers, without any fighting worthy of the name, reveals the depth and extent of the disaffection of the people, and illustrates clearly enough that many causes must have been at work before such a sudden turning over could have happened. It shows also that the army was as thoroughly affected as the business community. Indeed in many places the army led the way.

The apparent apathy of the Government at Peking during these stirring days has been very remarkable. The Regent and his supporters seemed like a doomed bird, on which some snake is gazing. They resembled Macbeth, to whom the witches revealed the ghost of Banquo. 'Horrible sight!' Of course the suddenness of the rising would paralyse for the hour. Peking did nothing to stem the flowing tide and quench the spreading flames. Yuan Shih Kai at last consented to return to the council chamber of the Regent, but there never could be a hearty reconciliation between these two. Terrible oaths had been sworn to be revenged on the ex-Viceroy, because of his callous treachery in the

betrayal of Kwang Hsui, the late Emperor, when he was sent to assassinate Yung Lu. Probably, because of the dread of diplomatic public opinion, Yuan was allowed to retire into private life. In the recent confusion the Regent had no one else to whom he could look. Yet Yuan seemed in no hurry to go to Peking, and after his arrival he did nothing to weld together a fighting force to save the crown. He sent several messages to Li Yuen Hung, requesting a cessation of hostilities, that the situation might be discussed. The Emperor issued several proclamations, confessing, with sad humiliation, his past misdoings, and heartily promising amendment. The Manchu nobles should be dismissed; Parliament should be established. Most people, however, knew what Manchu promises were when extracted by circumstances.

If the apparent quiescence of the Imperialists was puzzling, the insurgents of China were a vast army *in posse*. Of every ten persons nine were revolutionaries. In places like Hong-Kong, hundreds left their regular employment, and the service of foreigners, and went to Shanghai to join the new army. The allurements were many. They posed as patriots; they were promised good pay; they had the hope of loot.

The robbers, brigands, and pirates were the real menace as far as foreigners are concerned. They fear not God, neither do they regard men. They care neither for Imperialist nor revolutionist; they respect neither Chinese nor European. They seek silver, loot, and reckless living. In Kwangtung these lawless bands, in some cases numbering more than a thousand, prowled about, seeking whom they might devour. The murder of foreigners in Kwangtung, in Yunnan, and in Shensi will probably be traceable to these bands. The life of a human being is no more to them than is that of a sparrow to the hawk, or the woodcock to the sportsman. In the past, when dynasties have been overthrown, these robber bands have been a potent factor

in the situation. A thousand soon becomes ten thousand, for, like the rolling of the snowball, they attract to themselves huge numbers as they march onwards. Such was the situation in China during the revolution.

Our long period of unrest and anxiety has had an unexpectedly happy ending. A Republic has been established, and a new future of untold promise is opening before us. The President of the Republic has received the congratulations of the Protestant community in Peking, and has expressed his determination to remove all religious disabilities and to enforce religious toleration throughout China. All Christian workers will take heart at this emphatic assurance. The obstacles which the old régime would most surely have interposed, and the suspicion with which the Manchus would have regarded such an institution as the Mid-China University in the very centre of their empire, will not disgrace the politics of the New Republic, nor bias the minds of its leaders. Many of them have themselves already drunk deeply at the fountains of Western knowledge, and have expanded their minds by contact with the wider world of life. Moreover, some of them are earnest Christians, and many of them nominal adherents to the faith of the New Testament.

How general missionary work is likely to be assisted by the new order of things is outlined in the April and May numbers of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, and we believe there is no reason to suspect the validity of the conclusions therein arrived at. It is true that, for the present, missionary workers are scattered; but already some are returning. The stability of the Republic is assured. With the final departure of the Manchus, the incubus that has lain so long upon the Church will vanish; and with the ascendancy of the Reformers, we may count upon freedom of activity, and vigorous and healthy development of all Christian service.

CHARLES BONE.

THE LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN

The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman. Based on his Private Journals and Correspondence. By WILFRID WARD. In two volumes. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.)

NEWMAN'S portrait has at last been painted by a master. Mr. Wilfrid Ward has already written the Life of his father, W. G. Ward, and of Cardinal Vaughan. He is familiar with every stage of Newman's history, and has had full access to his private journals and correspondence. No man could have a more arresting subject. Newman is a great national figure. We sing his hymns in all our churches, we still feel the power of his Oxford sermons, even though the matchless voice is silent. His *Apologia* has taken us all into his confidence, and though we are not blind to the limitations it reveals, his silent departure from his old moorings comes on us almost like a personal tragedy. Everything that throws light on 'the Mystery of Newman' is sure of a welcome. Many have sought to pierce into the depths of his subtle mind and to understand the reasons for that scene at Littlemore when 'Father Dominic, the Passionist,' received the most illustrious of Rome's modern converts into what he had come to regard as 'the One Fold of the Redeemer.'

We have all wished to look over the walls of that sheep-fold and to see how Newman fared. We are familiar with his life at Oxford and at Littlemore, but the world into which he afterwards passed has been comparatively unknown to Englishmen. Mr. Purcell drew the veil rudely aside in his *Life of Cardinal Manning*, and showed that it was no

realm of peace into which Newman had entered. Mr. Arthur Hutton's reminiscences of the Cardinal, with whom he lived for years in the Oratory, do not present an altogether attractive picture. All this makes us the more eager to listen to Mr. Wilfrid Ward. Besides the Cardinal's diaries, he has had in his hands an immense mass of letters collected and arranged by Newman's literary executor, the late Father Neville, with other groups of letters which he himself has arranged and annotated. Father Neville's notes of Newman's sayings and habits and Father Ignatius Ryder's record of his conversations with Newman have supplied first-hand material of exceptional value.

The Oxford story is briefly told. Newman himself desired that this should be so. Everything had been already said. The first half of Newman's life is here compressed into a single chapter. That story never loses its pathos. Newman himself felt it keenly. In June 1868 he was able to revisit the scene of his sore travail. He says, 'I had always hoped to see it before I died. Crawley's cottage and garden (upon my ten acres which I sold him) are beautiful. The church, too, is now what they call a gem. And the parsonage is very pretty. I saw various of my people, now getting on in life. It was forty years the beginning of this year since I became vicar. Alas, their memory of me was, in some cases, stronger than my memory of them. They have a great affection for my mother and sisters—tho' it is thirty-two years since they went away. It is twenty-two years since I was there. I left February 22, 1846. I do not expect ever to see it again—nor do I wish it.' Canon Irvine writes, 'I was passing by the church at Littlemore when I observed a man very poorly dressed leaning over the lych-gate crying. He was, to all appearance, in great trouble. He was dressed in an old grey coat with the collar turned up, and his hat pulled down over his face as if he wished to hide his features. As he turned towards me I thought it was a face I had seen

before. The thought instantly flashed across my mind it was Dr. Newman.' Canon Irvine went to Mr. Crawley's house, looked at Newman's photograph there, and then returned to the churchyard. 'He was walking with Mr. St. John. I made bold to ask him if he was not an old friend of Mr. Crawley's, because, if he was, I felt sure Mr. Crawley would be very pleased to see him; as he was a great invalid and not able to get out himself, would he please to go and see Mr. Crawley. He instantly burst out crying, and said, "Oh no, oh no!" Mr. St. John begged him to go, but he said, "I cannot." Mr. St. John asked him then to send his name, but he said, "Oh no!" At last Mr. St. John said, "You may tell Mr. Crawley Dr. Newman is here." I did so, and Mr. Crawley sent his compliments, begged him to come and see him, which he did and had a long chat with him. After that he went and saw several of the old people in the village.'

No wonder Newman broke down as the memories of Littlemore surged round him. He had exercised something like a kingship over men's minds at Oxford. Then Rome conquered him. He had been its strong critic. In 1833 he had found the state of the Church in Italy deplorable. 'It seems as if Satan was let out of prison to range the whole earth again.' Rome fascinated him, but the religion that it harboured was 'a wretched perversion of the truth. . . . As to the Roman Catholic system, I have ever detested it so much that I cannot detest it more by seeing it.' He liked the seminarists of Rome, but feared that there were very grave and far-reaching scandals among the Italian priesthood, with mummary in abundance, though there is 'a deep substratum of true Christianity.' In his last letter from the Papal city he exclaimed, 'Oh that Rome were not Rome! But I seem to see as clear as day that union with her is impossible.'

On his return to England in July 1833, 'full of the spring and vitality which follows convalescence,' he found himself

in the forefront of the Oxford Movement. To him the Established Church was the Catholic Church in England; the only effectual barrier against the 'Liberalism' that threatened to engulf religion. The Movement, Mr. Ward says, was to accomplish its mission 'by strengthening the English Church as the home of dogmatic religion; by imparting intellectual depth to its traditional theology and spiritual life to its institutions; by strengthening and renewing the almost broken links which bound the Church of England to the Church Catholic of the great ages—the Church of Augustine and Athanasius.' The Apostle of the *Via Media* sought to vindicate the position of Anglican theology against 'Liberalism and Protestantism on the one side and Popery on the other.' At first the Movement seemed to carry everything before it. Newman was astonished at the result. 'Followers literally crowded to his standard, and one who desired only to work for a cause found himself against his own will the leader of a great movement.' Principal Shairp bears witness that there was not a reading man in Oxford who was not more or less directly influenced by it.

Then Newman was himself engulfed. He says in 1858 that he had believed in the Real Presence for twenty-five years. That carries us back to the time of Keble's sermon on 'The National Apostasy.' Six years later he began to feel his first misgivings as to the Anglican position. It was not enough for a religious society to appeal to antiquity; if the Universal Church failed to recognize its claim to fellowship, the appeal to antiquity was not allowed. St. Augustine thus unchurched the Donatists. '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*' Newman calls this his 'first real hit from Romanism.' He could no longer regard the English Roman Catholics as schismatics. He admitted that they belonged to the Church Catholic. But if the note of Catholicity was not clear in the Church of England, she had the notes of Life and Sanctity. Here also the ground crumbled under his feet. In 1840 he writes to his sister, 'I begin to

have serious apprehensions lest any religious body is strong enough to withstand the league of evil but the Roman Church. At the end of the first millenary it withstood the fury of Satan, and now the end of the second is drawing on.' He was not sure that 'good principles' did not tend to Rome—'not from any necessity in the principles themselves, but from the much greater proximity between Rome and us than between infidelity and us, and that in a time of trouble we naturally look about for allies.'

A year later 'Tract 90' astonished the world. The leaders of the Movement were now seen to be on the verge of Romanism, and were branded as dishonest in holding positions in the Church of England. On April 19, 1842, Newman took up his residence at Littlemore. The following year he wrote to a friend that he believed the Roman Catholic Church to be the Church of the Apostles. He told Manning, 'My one paramount reason for contemplating a change is my deep, unvarying conviction that our Church is in schism and my salvation depends on my joining the Church of Rome.' (Manning's *Life*, i. 258.) The fight was nearly over. He had resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's in 1843, and had publicly retracted all his attacks on Rome. He was writing his *Development of Christian Doctrine*. This was practically an apology for Rome. Her so-called corruptions and additions to the primitive Creed were set forth as legitimate developments. Mr. Ward says, 'In the keen mental life which this book had aroused, all the past was alive. He seems in its pages to see the Catholic Church of history as one great *aula* in which the Fathers are collected at one end and Pope Gregory XVI stands at the other.'

He had now chosen his path. Nothing remained save to make his submission to Rome. He would not delay that final act even until his book appeared in print. Mr. Ward makes much of circumstances as the 'kindly light' which 'relieved his uncertainty and marked out for him the immediate course.' Mr. Dalgairns, his companion at Littlemore,

had been admitted into the Roman Catholic Church at Aston Hall on September 27, by Father Dominic. He gave the father an invitation to Littlemore, where he thought he might find something to do. On October 8 he came, on his way to Belgium. Newman made up his mind to ask him for 'admission into the One true Fold of the Redeemer.' He said nothing to those about him till the last moment. Dalgairns says, 'About three o'clock I went to take my hat and stick and walk across the fields to the Oxford "Angel," where the coach stopped. As I was taking my stick Newman said to me in a very low and quiet tone: "When you see your friend, will you tell him that I wish him to receive me into the Church of Christ?" I said "Yes" and no more. I told Fr. Dominic as he was dismounting from the top of the coach. He said: "God be praised," and neither of us spoke again till we reached Littlemore.' They arrived about eleven, and as the visitor was sitting by a fire to dry his clothes he wrote, 'Mr. Newman entered the room, and, throwing himself at my feet, asked my blessing, and begged me to hear his confession, and receive him into the Church. He made his confession that same night, and on the following morning the Reverend Messrs. Bowles and Stanton did the same: in the evening of the same day these three made their profession of Faith in the usual form in their private oratory, one after another, with such fervour and piety that I was almost out of myself with joy. I afterwards gave them all canonical absolution, and administered to them the Sacrament of Baptism *sub conditione*. On the following morning I said Mass in their oratory, and gave Communion to Messrs. Newman, St. John, Bowles, Stanton and Dalgairns.'

Rome had now gained her noted convert. What were his fortunes in the new world that he entered? What use did Rome make of him? What compensations did he find in his new communion for all that he had resigned in the old?

He was confirmed at Oscott on November 1 by Dr.

Wiseman, who told a friend : ' I assure you the Church has not received, at any time, a convert who has joined her in more docility and simplicity of faith than Newman.' Father Robert Whitty, afterwards Provincial of the English Jesuits, ' used to describe the scale of hope and feeling among Catholics at this moment as quite exceptional. There was a general sense that supernatural agencies were in operation, and there was in the atmosphere that faith which works wonders.' The old English Catholics had scorned the idea that the Oxford School would submit to Rome. Now that Newman had come over they were prepared for any marvel. Newman himself seemed to expect striking developments. Meanwhile he was visiting the Roman Catholic colleges. ' I was received with the most unaffected singlehearted kindness everywhere, and saw nothing but what made me feel admiration and awe of the system in which I find myself.' Wiseman offered him a home at Old Oscott, and on February 22, 1846, he left Littlemore. During the last weeks he thought much of his thirty years at Oxford, and especially of his responsibilities at St. Mary's. ' Yet how dreadful is a cure of souls in the English Church, an engagement, with no *means* to carry it into effect—a Jewish yoke ! '

Eight members formed the little community at Old Oscott—now to be known as Maryvale. Dr. Wiseman wished to make the most of the opportunity, and urged Newman to write a succinct account of his reasons for becoming a Catholic. But the new convert refused. He had no short and easy answer. ' Catholicism is a deep matter—you cannot take it up in a teacup.' Catholicism and Christianity had in his mind become identical, but he wanted to know more about his new community before he became its champion. He thus early showed that he had a mind of his own, and was no blindly docile convert. His brother Frank came to see him in July, but Newman regarded this as a ' gratuitous intrusion interrupting the new life.' ' I saw him yesterday. Why should he come ? I think

he has some obscure idea about thumbscrews.' Father Dominic thought the new converts ought to be 'preachers, missionaries, martyrs.' Wiseman wished them to use their special gifts in combating infidelity, and Newman fell in with this idea, though he felt that it was not to be accomplished so much by literary work as by founding a school of divinity for English priests. All his thought and writing would thus find their fitting outlet. Rome was exultant. Newman writes, 'Dr. Wiseman's credit has risen at Rome much in consequence of our conversions.'

In September 1846 the new convert set out for Rome. It was what has been called the 'honeymoon period.' 'The halo of "the blessed vision of peace," of which he speaks at the end of the *Essay on Development*, bathed in its light all manifestations of Catholic life, feeling, and devotion.' He urged his friends to become Catholics, and reproved their dull delays 'with an eagerness which contrasted with his more cautious habit in later years.' Mr. Ward says, 'He seemed to think that to be critical of the devotions or beliefs which came before him might show a weak faith in a convert. The critical period came later.'

At Milan he speaks of the Church of S. Fidelis. 'Nothing moves there but the distant glittering lamp which betokens the Presence of Our Undying Life, hidden but ever working, though entered into His rest. It is really most wonderful to see the Divine Presence looking out almost into the open streets from the various churches, so that at St. Lawrence's we saw the people take off their hats from the other side of the street as they passed along.' He tells a friend 'It is so soothing and pleasant, after the hot streets, to go into these delicate yet rich interiors, which are like the bowers of Paradise or an angel's chamber.'

Newman was treated with marked respect in Rome. The Pope said he was very much pleased to see him—a recovered sheep. Schoolboy life and schoolboy companionship at Propaganda with 'a whole troop of blackamoors' somewhat

tried Newman after the select circles of Oxford. He already began to be aware that 'developments in philosophy with a view to the thought of the hour received no encouragement.' This 'led to a certain moderation in anticipations for the future. The new life was, in Newman's own phrase, "loss and gain." Trials multiplied later on.' He was pressed to preach a funeral sermon which it was hoped would impress many Protestants in Rome who were thought to be deterred only by worldly motives from joining the Church. He consented reluctantly, and his strong words about the miserable irreverence of English visitors who went 'prying about like brute beasts into the Holiest Places' in the Roman churches, gave huge offence. The Pope said Newman had spoken too strongly to the Protestants, and added he supposed he was more of a philosopher than an orator. The English Catholics were displeased, whilst the Protestants, who got a notion that Newman had 'called them all brutes and dogs, &c., became quite rabid.' There was another grievance. The Roman theologians raised difficulties about certain views which Newman had expressed in his writings. His *Essay on Development* seemed to him all-important in apologetics and in theology. The Unitarians of the United States, however, quoted it as evidence that the Trinitarian doctrine was not primitive, but a development of the third century. The Roman Catholic bishops in America regarded the *Essay* as 'half Catholicism, half Infidelity.' Newman's *Prophetical Office*, in which he had stated that the Papacy was Antichrist and that Rome was 'possessed by the devil,' was quoted against him in Italy. Newman discovered that no theologian in Rome read English with any facility, and discerned that if he pressed his views on Development he might even incur censure. He therefore resolved to abandon his scheme for founding a theological college at Maryvale, and to allow his books to make their way gradually. He tells Dalgairns, 'From what I hear to-day, I fear theology, as such, must

for a time be laid on the shelf at Maryvale, and we must take to preaching practical sermons. The theologians of the Roman Church who are said to sway the theology of Rome are introducing *bits* (without having seen the whole book), bits of my Essay into their lectures to dissent from. This seems very absurd. I will not raise controversy in the Church, and it would ill become a new Catholic to be introducing views—and again, really all my books hitherto have been written from hand to mouth—and though it will not only be a triumph to such as Palmer but, I fear, throw back such as Hope, I think I shall be content to let the matter rest for years before I write again. The worst is that I am cut off from controversy against infidels altogether.'

A French version of his *University Sermons* was being prepared, and he was 'terribly frightened' lest it should be brought before the Index. 'It seems hard, since nations now converse by printing, not in the schools, that an English Catholic cannot investigate truth with one of France or Rome without having the Inquisition upon him.' The sermons seemed the best things he had written, and made him feel that justice had not been done to him. He adds, 'but I must leave all this to Him who knows what to do with me. . . . Yet sometimes it is marvellous to me how my life is going, and I have never been brought out prominently—and now I am less likely than ever—for there seems something of an iron form here, tho' I may be wrong; but I mean, people are at no trouble to deepen their views. It is natural.'

Newman and his friends finally decided to become secular priests and Oratorians rather than Jesuits or Friars. That meant that the idea of teaching theology must be abandoned. Newman inquires about 'a good musician,' 'a good lay-brother,' 'a good cook.' St. John added this postscript to the letter in which Newman broached the plan to Dalgairns: 'Newman has never told you that it is part of the Oratory rule to flog, I think in public but in the

dark during Lent for edification. If this rule is essential and cannot be abolished, he says he will put you and our Irish John in front as the best floggers whilst he and Walker retire to the rear and lay on gently behind a screen. Our John, by the bye, is a regular good fellow, quite a prop in Maryvale at present.' The Pope highly approved of the founding of the Oratory, and suggested that its future members should pass a kind of novitiate in Rome, under the care of an Oratorian Father. Newman says, 'We are now musing over our need of companions who have a good deal of fun in them—for that will especially be wanted in an oratory. I should like a regular good mimic, who (if we dare suffer it) would take off the great Exeter Hall guns. What stuff I am writing! If we have not spirit, it will be like bottled beer with the cork out.'

Newman was ordained to the priesthood on March 30, 1847, and reached London on Christmas Eve. In January 1848 the community took up its temporary quarters at Maryvale. As superior, novice-master, and lecturer Newman had enough to do. The strain of organizing the Oratory told heavily on him, and he felt at times as though his power for service was gone. Faber and some enthusiastic young converts from Cheadle cast in their lot with the Oratorians. But they were not easy to control. Newman says, 'My great trouble is some of the *Giovani*—not that anything new has occurred, but they have so repelled anything between us but what is external, shown so little kindness when I have done things for them, treated me with so little confidence, as to throw me back upon myself—and now I quite dread the fortnightly chapter-day, when I have to make them a little address, as being something so very external, when I have no means of knowing what is going on in their minds. In consequence I feel as if I was not doing my duty to them, yet without any fault. I don't know what influence I am exerting over them. It is as if my time of work were gone by.'

The younger members were disposed to adopt Continental forms of popular devotion, and though Newman went with them for a time, he afterwards fell back to what seemed a safer and more practical course. At first he used strong language about the Church of England, with its 'ritual dashed upon the ground, trodden on and broken piecemeal, . . . a dreariness which could be felt, and which seemed the token of an uninspired Socinianism pouring itself upon the eye, the ear, the nostril of the worshipper.' Mr. Ward says that as years went on such language became less congenial to him. At Newman's suggestion Faber translated the lives of some Italian saints, but these caused much scandal. One priest of the old school accused the writer and translator of idolatry because St. Rose asked favours from the image of a saint. Bishop Ullathorne urged him to bring the series to a close.

The community removed to Birmingham in January 1849, and soon afterwards Faber took charge of a branch oratory in London. Newman warns him not to be carried off his legs. 'The Jesuits may have an excess of caution, but they are wiser in these matters.' It was little use, however, to preach moderation to Faber. English Catholicism began to be divided into two Schools represented by the oratories in London and Birmingham. Faber was busy composing hymns. Newman tells him, 'I admire your poems; I don't revolt at the "Predestination"—but I stuck at the Scholasticism. Have not I heard similar dogmatic effusions, though of an opposite school? e.g.—

My righteousness is "filthy rags,"
No "merits" can I plead,
For man is but a "lump of sin,"
And sin his worthiest deed.

Vel splendidum illud et trochaicum—

Man is but "accounted righteous,"
And, tho' justified, must sin.
Grace does naught but wash the surface,
Leaving him all-foul within.'

In May 1850 Newman delivered his lectures on 'The Difficulties of Anglicans,' at the Oratory Chapel in King William Street, Strand. They were intended to draw over those Tractarians who still lingered on the brink of the Roman Church. The lectures belong to Newman's 'honeymoon period,' and have an exultant optimism 'which we find at no other period of his life either as an Anglican or a Catholic.' Their brilliant irony made a great impression, and some converts were won. Newman's aggressive attitude towards the Church of England at this time was probably due in some measure to the influence of the London Oratorians. He did not, however, look with favour on the new Roman Catholic hierarchy. Self-advertisement was obnoxious to the former Oxford don. He desired work rather than show. His object was not to weaken the hold of the Anglican Church on the masses. That would impair a great bulwark against infidelity, and Catholicism had no adequate force to meet such a situation. He writes in November 1850 to Mr. Capes: 'I don't look on the Church of England as important in contrast to *Dissent*, but as a bulwark against infidelity, which Dissent cannot be. Were the Church of England to fall *Methodism might remain* awhile. I can't tell, for I don't know it—but surely, on the whole, the various denominations exist under the shadow of the Establishment, out of which they sprang, and, did it go, would go too: i.e. they would lose their organization, and whatever faint intellectual basis they have at present. Infidelity would take possession of the bulk of the men; and the women, so they had something to worship, would not care whether it was an unknown tongue, or a book of Mormon, or a pudding-sleeve gown. Infidel literature would be the fashion, and there would be a sort of fanatical contempt and hatred of all profession of belief in a definite revelation.' Such a view of woman is strange indeed, and how hopelessly astray is Newman's estimate of Dissent and of Methodism every reader can judge.

In the summer of 1851 Newman delivered a course of lectures on Catholicism in England at the Corn Exchange, Birmingham. In these he made his famous onslaught on Dr. Achilli, an ex-Dominican, who had lectured in London on the scandals of the Inquisition. Newman knew that he was treading on dangerous ground. Cardinal Wiseman had given a detailed account of the friar's immoralities in the *Dublin Review*, and the article was afterwards issued as a pamphlet. Achilli was silent. Newman asked Hope-Scott whether to repeat these charges might lay him open to a libel action. The lawyer thought this was possible, but not probable. Under the circumstances the risk might be taken. Newman struck with all his might, and within a month Achilli brought an action. Wiseman failed to furnish the proofs Newman needed, and witnesses had to be searched for in Italy. In the end Newman was found guilty of libel. His counsel constrained him to appeal for a new trial. This was refused, and he was fined £100. Worse still, Mr. Justice Coleridge held him up as an illustration of the way that men deteriorate when they become Catholics. Newman's expenses, amounting to £12,000, were paid by subscription.

Amid this strain and stress Newman had been asked by Archbishop Cullen to become rector of a proposed Catholic University in Ireland. Archbishop Murray of Dublin disapproved, but he died in the same year, and the Irish bishops supported Dr. Cullen's request. Newman accepted the task, which he came to regard as *the* work of his life. But he soon began to see that the work would be a failure. His idea was to have a University like that of Louvain with scientific experts on its staff who should enjoy the freedom necessary for efficient work. Dr. Cullen, however, was not ready to give the laity their share of influence. If his type of University prevailed, Newman told Mr. Ornsby, 'it will be simply priest-ridden.' Cardinal Wiseman had secured the promise of a bishopric for Newman, in order to give him the status needed for his office, but the Irish prelates seem to

have objected to the appointment and it was not made, though his friends had provided him with an episcopal cross, ring, chain, and other things. He felt this slight keenly.

Despite all hindrances he did notable service in Ireland, and his lectures on the *Scope and Nature of University Education* are a permanent addition to the literature of that subject. He had thought that in Dublin he might repeat his Oxford success. But Mr. Ward shows how his hope of making the Catholic capital city of the kingdom a centre of religion as well as of learning faded. 'The glow of the "honeymoon period" passed away in these years. Sadness—at moments something like sourness—came upon him. The University scheme broke down; and though he had appreciative friends in Dublin he failed to influence the life of the town.' He contrasts the former days with these. 'It was at Oxford, and by my Parochial Sermons, that I had influence,—all that is past.' His faith in Papal sagacity was weakened. 'I was a poor innocent as regards the actual state of things in Ireland when I went there, and did not care to think about it, for I relied on the word of the Pope, but from the event I am led to think it not rash to say that I knew as much about Ireland as he did.' These years, 1858 to 1858, did much, Mr. Ward says, 'to break his spirit.'

Rome was not more happy in its treatment of Newman in two other matters. Cardinal Wiseman asked him in 1857 to edit the new English Version of the Scriptures which the Synod of Oscott had recommended. The task was congenial. He told Principal Brown in 1872, 'It seems to me the first step to any chance of unity amid our divisions, is for religious minds, one and all, to live upon the Gospels.' He adopted the Cardinal's suggestion 'without hesitation or reluctance,' set himself to secure the most competent translators, and began to write Prolegomena to counteract the influence of the agnostic propaganda then carried on in the

name of modern science. A year after he had undertaken this task the American bishops wrote to deprecate any action, as they were engaged on a similar work. It was suggested that there should be a common version, but the whole project fell through. Newman was left to bear the expenses, which amounted to 'a good part of £100.'

Then came another rebuff. The new convert realized that the keener and more active thinkers among English Catholics needed a guiding hand. 'They were reacting fiercely against the exuberant, and at times extravagant, statements on matters of doctrine or devotion which the writings of Louis Veuillot and Abbé Gaume presented in France, and those of Father Faber (to some extent) in England. There was a real danger lest they should abandon the Christian faith.'

These feelings brought Newman into association with Sir John Acton, who had just returned from Munich, where Döllinger was trying to meet a similar situation. Thought in educated Catholic circles was to be brought abreast of the intellectual methods and research of the day. Newman dined in Acton's company in London in March 1858, and next day the young scholar returned with him to Birmingham. In the autumn Döllinger came with him to Edgbaston. They paid a second visit to Rednal, where the Oratory had just secured a country house. These champions of Liberal Catholicism brought home to Newman the need for the historical study of dogmatic theology. Döllinger and Acton wished to encourage 'specialist research in the history of the early centuries, absolutely frank, yet undertaken with Christian rather than anti-Christian sympathies.' Döllinger summoned a Congress at Munich in 1868 to promote and organize this work, but his utterances there brought down a Papal censure which gave a severe blow to the movement. The placing of Mgr. Duchesne's *L'Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise* on the Index last January shows that Rome is still the foe of fearless research. 'One of the most important

works produced by an ecclesiastic in modern times ' is thus laid under the ban of his own Church.

Acton had associated himself with the *Rambler*, which he hoped to make a Liberal Catholic organ. In December 1858 he wrote, ' I have had a three hours' talk with the venerable Newman, who came out at last with his real sentiments to an extent which startled me with respect both to things and persons, as Ward, Dalgairns, &c., &c.; natural inclination of men in power to tyrannize; ignorance and presumption of would-be theologians. I did not think he would ever cast aside his diplomacy and buttonment so entirely, and was quite surprised at the intense interest he betrayed in the *Rambler*. He was quite miserable when I told him the news ' (that an article by Döllinger had been denounced to the authorities), ' and moaned for a long time, rocking himself backwards and forwards over the fire like an old woman with a toothache. He thinks the move provoked both by the hope of breaking down the *Rambler*, and by jealousy of Döllinger.'

' The *Rambler* fell distinctly short of the customary tone of respect for authority and for the saints themselves,' and when it was in imminent danger of Episcopal censure Newman reluctantly accepted the editorship, hoping gradually to modify what was offensive and show the bishops what service a Catholic review might render. But the authorities would not give him time to effect a change in tone. The first number which he edited did not escape sharp criticism, and at his bishop's desire he severed his connexion with the Review as soon as he had seen the following number through the press. It was another keen disappointment. He told Henry Wilberforce: ' When I am gone it will be seen perhaps that persons stopped me from doing a *work* which I might have done. God overrules all things. Of course it is discouraging to be out of joint with the time, and to be snubbed and stopped as soon as I begin to act.' Wilberforce replied: ' I cannot but admire and acquiesce

in your spirit, but I feel deeply that our bishops do not understand England and the English. Either the Catholic laity will kick, or, what I rather fear, they will more and more fall below Protestants in intellectual training and have no influence on the public mind.' For the last number he was to edit Newman wrote 'On Consulting the Faithful in matters of Doctrine.' One bishop formally delated the article to Rome as heretical. Newman had no difficulty in answering the charge, but suspicion had been aroused, and his 'position in the Catholic body was not again for a long time to come what it had hitherto been in this respect.' He continued to advise Acton. 'The great point is to open men's minds, to educate them and make them logical. It does not matter what the subject-matter is. If you make them think in politics, you will make them think in religion.' Sir John found himself beset with difficulties, and thought that even Newman failed him. He writes, 'I beg of you, remembering the difficulties you encountered, to consider my position, in the midst of a hostile and illiterate episcopate, an ignorant clergy, a prejudiced and divided laity, with the cliques at Brompton, York Place, Ushaw, always on the watch, obliged to sit in judgement as to the theology of the men you selected to be our patrons, deserted by the assistant you obtained for me, with no auxiliary or adviser but Simpson.'

In the early 'sixties Newman was regarded with suspicion because he did not sympathize with the extreme champions of the Temporal Power. He wondered that the framework of government had been kept together so long. 'The Pontifical States find, admit of, no employment whatever for the young (lay) men, who are in consequence forced to go into mischief, if they go into anything. Fancy the state of Birmingham if the rising generation had nothing to do but to lounge in the streets and throng the theatre.'

He felt more and more keenly that he was 'cast out of the good books of Catholics and especially of ecclesiastical

authorities.' He tries to comfort himself. 'Well, I suppose it is all intended to keep me from being too happy. How happy should I be if let alone,—how fond of living! On the other hand, certainly, I have been carried marvellously through all those troubles which have come to me hitherto, and so I believe I shall be to the end.' Mr. Ward calls the years 1859–1864 'the low-water mark of Newman's life-story. Almost every work he had undertaken so far, as a Catholic, had proved a failure.' He had hoped to do great things for Romanism, but his designs had been frustrated by those in authority. 'He felt that he was expected to effect showy conversions among the titled and learned, to preach sermons which should be talked of in the newspapers.' In his private journal he wrote that he was treated as 'some wild incomprehensible beast, a spectacle for Dr. Wiseman to exhibit to strangers, as himself being the hunter who captured it.' Even the London Oratorians were not working in harmony with the Birmingham House, and in 1856 they became independent. Three years later the Oratory School at Edgbaston was formed. Newman gave up literary work, devoted himself to the school, and taught the boys to write. 'They have put me on the shelf,' he said, 'but they can't prevent me from peeping out from it.' He lived much in the past, and was strongly drawn towards his Oxford friends. Protestants seemed to understand him better than Catholics. He writes in his journal for January 1860: 'I have been treated, in various ways, only with slight and unkindness. Because I have not pushed myself forward, because I have not dreamed of saying: "See what I am doing and have done"—because I have not retailed gossip, flattered great people, and sided with this or that party, I am nobody. I have no friend at Rome. I have laboured in England, to be misrepresented, backbitten, and scorned. I have laboured in Ireland, with a door ever shut in my face. I seem to have had many failures, and what I did well was not understood. I do not think I am saying this in any bitterness.

... What I wrote as a Protestant has had far greater power, force, meaning, success, than my Catholic works, and this troubles me a great deal.' He had seen great wants which had to be supplied among Catholics—wants which they did not themselves see or feel, and those for whom he laboured 'felt no thankfulness at all, and no consideration towards a person who was doing something towards the supply, but rather thought him restless, or crotchety, or in some way or other what he should not be. This has naturally made me shrink into myself, or rather it has made me think of turning more to God, if it has not actually turned me. It has made me feel that in the Blessed Sacrament is my great consolation, and that, while I have Him who lives in the Church, the separate members of the Church, my superiors, though they may claim my obedience, have no claim on my admiration, and offer nothing for my inward trust.'

These entries abundantly justify his biographer's verdict that if Newman had died in 1868, 'his career would have lived in history as ending in the saddest of failures. His unparalleled eminence in 1837 would have been contrasted by historians with his utter insignificance in 1868. His biography would have been a tragedy.'

Such was the state of Newman's fortunes when Charles Kingsley brought the memorable charge: 'Truth for its own sake had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Further Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be;—that cunning is the weapon which Heaven has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is, at least, historically so.' This roused Newman, and though Kingsley made an apology, Newman pressed his advantage in a way that made the public feel that he was 'unduly sensitive and personally bitter towards Kingsley.' Even Dr. Hort says Newman's reply was 'sickening to read,

from the cruelty and insolence with which he trampled on his assailant.' Newman was now led to give Englishmen his memorable account of his own Anglican life and all the influences by which it had been fashioned. His *Apologia pro Vita sua* was a public confession from which he sorely shrank, but it aroused almost unparalleled interest. It brought back the Newman of Oxford days, and won the sympathy of those who differed most intensely from him. His good faith was clearly demonstrated, but his subtle, sceptical intellect and his strange modes of reasoning were even more plainly revealed.

Newman rejoiced that at last the Catholics of England—both priests and laymen—understood him and gave him their gratitude and confidence. All were not of the same mind, however. Herbert Vaughan read the *Apologia* with 'a mixture of pain and pleasure. . . . There are views put forward which I abhor, and which fill me with pain and suspicion.' (*Life*, i. 215.)

Manning's dread of Newman's influence was increased. He says, 'I know that the Anglicans look on the *Apologia* as a plea for remaining as they are' (i. 323). The two converts distrusted each other. Newman told Manning in 1869, 'I do not know whether I am on my head or my heels when I have active relations with you.' He also wrote, 'I have felt you difficult to understand.' Manning replied that this was exactly his position as to Newman, whom he denounced in private as an unsound or disloyal Catholic.

Mgr. Talbot, stirred up by Manning, wished to trade on the change in public feeling produced by the *Apologia*. He invited Newman to visit Rome and deliver a course of sermons, but the Oratorian regarded the letter as insolent and curtly declined. Newman now felt that life had suddenly blossomed out. The course of events had 'put him in spirits' to look out for fresh usefulness. He began to dream of renewing his work at Oxford with the power of the Catholic Church behind him. Two months after the

completion of the *Apologia* he was in treaty for a site there, which he bought for £8,400. Here again he was doomed to disappointment. Rome dare not trust her sons to enter the University. When Newman visited Cardinal Wiseman in London he met with a very cool reception. Manning and Ward had been stirring him up to oppose the Oxford scheme, and he listened 'half querulously' to Newman's plans. On December 13 the bishops passed resolutions in favour of an absolute prohibition of the scheme. With his honours fresh upon him as the triumphant champion of Catholicism Newman found himself vanquished. 'Does it not seem queer,' he wrote to a friend, 'that the two persons who are now most opposed to me are Manning and Ward?' 'As to the Oxford scheme it is still the Blessed Will of God to send me baulks. On the whole, I suppose, looking through my life as a course, He is using me, but really viewed in its separate parts it is but a life of failures.' He sold the land, with bitter feelings. It was not till three years after his death that his plan was carried out.

In December 1864 Pius IX published the encyclical *Quanta Cura*, which Newman describes as 'a heavy blow and a great discouragement to us in England.' Mr. Ward adds, 'There was an outcry in England, and the Holy Father was said to have declared war against modern civilization.' Catholics were forbidden to belong to the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. Manning held that this Association discouraged conversions to Rome. W. G. Ward was jubilant over the encyclical, which he described as the Church's infallible utterance. Newman wished to make a public protest against this view, but found that the theologians were not willing to commit themselves. Wiseman died in February 1865. Newman felt that he and Faber had been the two persons who were unjust to him. Manning now became Wiseman's successor, with Ward as his close ally. Ultramontanism was absolutely in the ascendant. Mr. Purcell has spoken plainly as to the relations

between Newman and Manning. Mr. Ward, though more reticent, abundantly confirms those revelations. Newman was out of sympathy with the extremists. He tells Pusey, 'Certainly I so dislike Ward's way of going on, that I can't get myself to read the *Dublin*.' Some popular 'devotions to the Blessed Virgin' seemed to him 'unnatural and forced.' He wrote freely to Keble, and in September 1865 visited him at Hursley Rectory. 'Keble was at the door; he did not know me, nor I him.' Pusey was there. The three old friends met after twenty years of separation, 'but without a common cause or free-spoken thought.' Newman wrote, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, was the sad burden of the whole—once so united, now so broken up, so counter to each other—though neither of them, of course, would quite allow it.' Keble died the following year. Newman wrote, 'he seems to have received all doctrine except the necessity of being in communion with the Holy See.' That is an illuminating sentence! The old friends talked over 'the necessity of communion with Rome. Till he (Keble) saw that (or that he was not in the Church), he was bound to remain as he was, and it was in this way that he always put it.'

Newman now found himself in the cold. He tells a friend that he views 'with equanimity the prospect of a thorough routing out of things at Rome. . . . Instead of aiming at being a world-wide power, we are shrinking into ourselves, narrowing the lines of communion, trembling at freedom of thought, and using the language of dismay and despair at the prospect before us, instead of, with the high spirit of the warrior, going out conquering and to conquer.'

Newman was asked by his bishop to undertake a mission to Oxford, where he was to build an Oratory church; but after three years of suspense, whilst he was saying 'Earlier failures do not matter now: I see that I have been reserved by God for this,' he received instructions that he was not to go. The Oratory might be established, but Propaganda sent a 'secret instruction' to Dr. Ullathorne that if Newman

himself showed signs of intending to reside at Oxford his bishop was to do his best blandly and suavely to recall him. An anonymous attack had been made on Newman in the *Weekly Register*, and this led the Catholic laity to present him with an address 'to express our gratitude for all we owe you, and to assure you how heartily we appreciate the services which, under God, you have been the means of rendering to our holy religion.' The address gave considerable umbrage to Manning and his friends. Mgr. Talbot wrote to Manning: 'Dr. Newman is the most dangerous man in England, and you will see that he will make use of the laity against your Grace.' He added that if Manning did not 'fight the battle of the Holy See against the detestable spirit growing up in England,' the Pope would begin to regret Cardinal Wiseman, 'who knew how to keep the laity in order.'

Mr. Ward quotes the correspondence between Manning and Talbot with this comment: 'These letters reveal a state of feeling among active and influential counsellors of the Holy See in England, which made Newman's determination to take active steps to defend himself in Rome most necessary.' He sent two ambassadors to Rome, and was able to clear himself from the charge of unorthodoxy, though he found that the Oxford scheme must be dropped. His experience had been bitter, and he felt that his confidence could never blossom again within him. The question of Papal Infallibility widened the breach. As the civil Princedom seemed to be fast slipping away the neo-Ultramontanes supported Pius IX in his protests against modern Liberalism. They urged that the infallibility of the Pope should be made an article of faith. Manning and Ward were enthusiastic in support of this action. Newman followed the utterances of the extremists with profound and ever-deepening distress. He believed in the dogma, but regarded a definition of it as a calamity. When the Vatican Council met he 'continued to pray and hope that the definition might be averted.' He

unburdened his mind to Bishop Ullathorne. 'Why should an aggressive and insolent faction be allowed to make the hearts of the just to mourn whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful?' Mr. Alfred Austin quoted the words in the *Standard*. Newman denied that he had used them, but had afterwards to explain that he had overlooked them when he consulted his rough copy. There is no doubt that they expressed his real mind. Cardinal Vaughan's *Life* (i. 217-225) shows what he thought of the whole business. When Newman denied that he had used the words, the *Tablet* wrote that 'no man in his senses could speak in such terms of the great majority of the bishops, priests, and faithful in communion with the Church. Our contemporary may be assured that grave men, especially men whose words have so much importance as those of Dr. Newman, do not indulge in outrages of this kind.' When the whole letter came out the *Tablet* 'left the thing to the charity of silence,' but Herbert Vaughan read the letter with 'something like consternation.' In 1870 appeared Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, in which, as Dr. Rigg put it, he sought to show that certitude was only 'attainable through religious faith and obedience leading up to Church infallibility.' In 1874 Mr. Gladstone made his attack on the Vatican Decrees, in which he said that no one could become Rome's 'convert without renouncing his mental and moral freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.' Newman replied in a 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,' which won him the grateful thanks of his co-religionists.

The years from 1875 to 1879 were very sad for Newman. His faithful companion, Ambrose St. John, who had been his chief stay and comfort for thirty-two years, died in May 1875. It was the greatest affliction of Newman's life. He told a friend that he did not expect to get over it. Proofs of goodwill from Anglican friends cheered him. His old college, Trinity, made him an honorary Fellow, and invited him to visit them at Oxford. The visit was a great delight to

Newman. His portrait was painted for Oriel. These honours were crowned by the new Pope, Leo XIII, who made Newman a cardinal in 1879. Through some misunderstanding on the part of Cardinal Manning a report got into the *Times* that Newman had declined the honour. This was duly set right, and this supreme mark of Papal favour gilded the last days of Newman's life. He never ceased to regret the opposition which had defeated so many of his efforts to serve his Church. That note is struck in his last sermon. 'When we look back at the lives of holy men it often seems wonderful that God had not employed them more fully.'

The last letter quoted in the *Life* was written to Mr. G. T. Edwards, the well-known District Secretary of the Bible Society, who paid the Cardinal many kindly attentions, and once sent him as a birthday gift a large-type New Testament in four volumes, not too heavy for his old age. Newman sent him some lines full of love to Christ which he called his Creed, and a charming note: 'Accept my tardy Christmas greetings and good wishes to you for fullness in faith, hope, charity, gladness, and peace; for the blessing of Holy Church, and of Gospel gifts, for the Communion of Saints and the Life Everlasting.' The last incident in the biography is pathetic. A silk handkerchief had been left at the Oratory door by a poor man many years before Newman was Cardinal, with a message of respect. 'When he went to bed expecting to die, he had it brought to him, and put it on, and, though the doctors said he might as well be without it, he died with it on. He had kept it quite thirty years, even more.' His long life closed on August 11, 1890, and he was buried at Rednal with his chosen motto on the pall, 'Cor ad cor loquitur,' and on the memorial slab the words he desired, 'Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem.'

Mr. Ward has produced a masterly biography which makes Newman more lovable than we had dreamed. What a fine compliment he paid Mr. R. H. Hutton: 'I believe

you to be one of those to whom the angels on Christmas night sent greetings as "*hominibus bonae voluntatis*," and it is a pleasure and a duty for all who would be their companions hereafter to follow their pattern of comprehensive charity here.' Mr. Ward allows us to see Newman as he really was, and though our respect for his sincerity grows, our distrust in his judgement as to the claims of Rome deepens as we share his secret thoughts. He knew little of science or philosophy or biblical scholarship. He cannot be compared with Döllinger as an historian, but he cast a spell on others. 'He laid a hand upon those who came near him, and at that touch they were transformed.' Rome did not know how to use him. It embittered his life for many years by rebuffs and disappointments, which closed almost every door of usefulness. The Cardinal's hat strikes us as a poor atonement for long suspicion and misunderstanding, and W. G. Ward and his school were not pleased with such a reversal of Papal judgement. His writings, his labours at the Oratory, were his chief contribution to the work of the Roman Catholic Church. The whole story is a much-needed warning against practices and principles which tempt a man along the road which Newman travelled. He regarded the Catholic Church and its doctrine as 'directly from God,' but his private journal is 'more or less a complaint from one end to the other,' and it represented the real state of his mind. Such a frank revelation cannot fail in many ways to do service to the cause of English Protestantism.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

THE newspapers, some time ago, were making merry over the jeremiads and forebodings of a certain 'gloomy dean.' In self-justification the Dean of St. Paul's has now published, under the title of *The Church and the Age*, the lectures that gave rise to criticism, and it is much more satisfactory to read his utterances in their original form and context than to depend upon the extracts of reporters chiefly anxious to provide 'good copy.' The lectures themselves were well worth reprinting, and deserved a careful reading at the hands of those who do not, as well as those who do, agree with their main scope.

We cannot banish as a mere transient and embarrassed phantom our old friend the *Zeitgeist*, but it is not so easy to decide what to do with the Spirit of the Age, even if we are clever enough to find out what it really is. Dean Inge's main thesis is that we should not regard the spirit of the age, but the Spirit of the Ages, by which he means 'the Will of God for humanity at large.' Excellent advice indeed. A teacher renders a valuable service to his generation if he can help it to realize something of the scope of the Eternal Purpose in the midst of the shifting, eddying, perplexing currents of the passing hour. But after all we have to live in our own time. The Dean bids us remember that humanity is perhaps 150,000 years old, whilst civilization is a child of only 10,000 years. He looks forward to interminable cycles yet to come, and thinks that the Church has in two thousand years only just begun to 'crawl and babble,' that her traditions are those 'of the rattle and feeding-bottle.' But we cannot all be Struldbriigs. 1912 is more important to most of us than 1920, and as we have not the slightest idea what 2012 will be like, we ask from our leaders guidance for to-day rather than for that to-morrow when we shall be with yesterday's 'seven thousand years.' And on this subject we do not find our present seer, albeit he tries hard to rank himself among the 'cheerful deans,' to be as illuminating as we could desire. He can coin caustic phrases, which at least give pleasure to himself, but of light and leading he has none to spare. He is determined not to flatter the spirit of the age, and in this he is obviously right; but it does not seem to have struck him that there is something better than either flattering or denouncing, and that is, trying to understand it.

His *bête noire* is democracy. One main purpose of these lectures, it would appear, was to persuade the ladies to whom it was addressed that democracy is 'a superstition and a fetish, perhaps the silliest of all fetishes.' The Dean is very hard upon those who use catchwords, but here surely is the commonest and emptiest of catchwords. It is easy enough to sneer

at the 'multiplying spawn,' the multitude with their 'most sweet voices,' whom Coriolanus disdains to woo except with bitter satire. We expect something better from an Oxford scholar of learned leisure, and one would rather have thought that on the very mention of 'democracy' he would have begun with a scholastic *Distinguo*. Does not he himself tell us, for example (p. 85), that democracy 'is reminding us of one of the most original and important parts of the Christian message'? Surely then the same word should not be employed without discrimination to describe the silliest of all fetishes.

A little less anxiety to coin smart epigrams and a little more sympathy with the needs of those who are not installed in comfortable benefices would surely have enabled the accomplished writer of these lectures to diagnose more accurately the signs of the times. He dislikes the tendency of a considerable part of recent legislation, and he is not only within his rights in protesting against it, but as a Churchman he does good service in reminding his fellow-clergy—if they need the warning—that the best way to help the multitude is not to flatter them, and that there is no virtue in shouting with the largest crowd. But infallibility no more belongs to a minority than to a majority. It is well to be 'in the right with two or three,' but it is only too easy to be in the wrong with an upper ten thousand when brought face to face with the burdens and needs of a lower ten millions. The Church—however that vague word be defined—should be ashamed of 'pandering to the masses,' but in the past the danger of the Church of England has rather been that of cultivating the classes. And if the Spirit of the Age is teaching us anything, whether it be in Britain or in China, it is that to promote the welfare of the many, rather than that of the privileged few, is the chief duty of the community. No doubt the methods employed to this end are often clumsy, sometimes mischievous. All the light that wise critics can give is urgently needed, and we had hoped, for the most part in vain, that the lecturer would furnish some helpful constructive teaching to counteract the dangerous contemporary tendencies which in his earlier pages he had so vigorously denounced.

The Dean of St. Paul's apparently does not hope for much at present from the Church. He is broad enough not to use that term as synonymous with Anglicanism. He has recognized, as few of his fellow-churchmen have, that in numbers 'the Episcopalians have no great superiority over the Methodists'—the balance lies, we believe, slightly the other way. Taking the noble definition of the Bidding Prayer, the Church is 'the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world,' and generalizations concerning what such a body can or cannot do are not easy to frame. We are in full sympathy with the Dean when he declines to identify the Church of Christ with any individual organization. But we are more hopeful than he appears to be as to the future, because we believe that the future lies with those churches that most completely identify themselves with the real moral and spiritual needs—not disregarding the material privations—of the *multitude*. Dean Inge distrusts democratic churches. But it is not clear that he knows much about them. He suggests that when Protestant dissenters federate amongst themselves

'the whole object of the fraternization is the dismemberment of their dear brother,' the Church of England—apparently unconscious that during nine-tenths of their deliberations the Church of England is neither mentioned nor thought of. The Free Churches have their own work to do, and they try to do it in the spirit of the Dean's words that 'the idea of a common Christianity behind all denominational loyalties is one which we should encourage by every means in our power,' and they believe that, whether for children or adults, this common Christianity is not to be confused with the Anglican bogey of undenominationalism.

It is a pity that the Dean of St. Paul's should have permitted himself to forget the spirit of Christian courtesy in his supercilious gibe at the Non-conformist conscience as 'tortuous and greasy,' especially when he seeks to justify it by saying that he refers only to English and Welsh dissenters, and that his words 'have no reference to Scotland'—where, by the way, it is the Episcopalians who are dissenters from the Established Church of the country. History shows that the consciences of those who are contending for the redress of a grievance are not usually more 'tortuous' than the consciences of those who are maintaining cherished privileges. Nothing is so likely to make the conscience 'greasy' as the possession of ample emoluments and the necessity of defending their retention against challenge. The charge of making the Church an instrument of party politics is two-edged, and in this country at all events the danger is not peculiar to Nonconformists. Recriminations in such a case are undignified and useless, and we regret that the Dean should first have used words which he must have recognized as offensive, and then on mature reflection should have tried to justify them.

It is pleasanter to read and heartily to endorse such words as these: 'I am convinced that our whole duty is this—to hold up the Christian view of life, the Christian standard of values, before the eyes of our generation.' We should have been glad to extract the whole of the long and eloquent sentence that follows, setting forth the characteristic features of the Christian view of life. The Dean begins with 'the unique stress which our Lord lays on love and sympathy,' he reminds us how He 'broke down all the barriers, sacred and profane, that separate man from man,' how He 'advocated plain living without harsh asceticism, and transformed all values in the light of our divine sonship and heavenly citizenship.' The few paragraphs in the last lecture in which these ideas are briefly expounded are all too short and they are worth whole pages of cheap sarcasms. The Dean urges simplicity in our way of living, bids us restrain that 'reckless wastefulness of our habits' which is the bane of our time, and he exhorts his generation not to follow 'immoral, extravagant, and foolish fashions, but to save what they can of the old English Sunday, and to make a vigorous practical protest against betting and gambling, including all card-playing for money.' Another paragraph sets forth 'luxury' as a social disease, and if it could be taken to heart by those whom it most concerns in Western Europe and in America, processes of national degeneration would be arrested which, if they are not soon checked, will entail a certain, if not a speedy, Nemesis. These are the considerations which constitute the real

strength of lectures which, taken as a whole, show little real understanding of the spirit of the age. As a physician who undertakes to put his finger upon the pulse of his generation and prescribe for its immediate welfare, the Dean of St. Paul's is not impressive. We greatly prefer him as a Bampton Lecturer.

W. T. DAVISON.

METHODISM AND THE WORLD PROBLEM

THE publication of a revised edition of the *Statistical Atlas of the Edinburgh Conference on Missions* enables us to get a complete view of the missionary operations of any of the Churches. By a process of selection and aggregation it is possible to find out what is being done by any Church, or group of Churches, in any country in the world. The Edinburgh Conference allowed itself to be over-ridden by the High Anglicans—it was the price of co-operation—so that no account was taken of work done in countries where either the Roman Catholic or Greek Church was nominally in possession. Wesleyan work in Spain and Italy, the Methodist Episcopal work in Mexico and South America, for instance, were thus blocked out.

This gave such dissatisfaction, subsequently, to the Americans, that they have now issued the Atlas afresh, with a slightly revised title, and have included the work they are doing in grossly superstitious Roman Catholic countries. The new edition is entitled *World Atlas of Christian Missions*, and is issued from New York by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. It is indispensable to exact study of modern missions, and is well worth the fifteen shillings to be paid for it. The maps are very good.

The figures it gives are of course for 1909 and 1910, some for one year, some for the other, as they could be got. All the figures are less than the actual totals. For a few men who are intolerably busy, and some who are superciliously superior, neglect or refuse to send returns in; and what is more, and something to be thankful for, the mission work itself is going forward every moment: the heaven is at work.

Not only can the figures for any Church be seen, but the appalling waste occasioned by over-lapping can be realized, through this magnificent Atlas, as nowhere else. The waste comes in in the matter of supervising and directing, and is a replica of the abominable waste going on all over England to-day—myriads of our people here being unreached, while ecclesiastics are crossing over one another's areas to maintain their rival organizations. The objective is surely not the maintenance of the regiments but the destruction of the enemy. Compared with *that*, the disappearance of a brigade of regiments is nothing.

The following is an interesting list of the various Missionary Societies of the Methodist Churches, their incomes, and that income divided by the church membership.

	Missionary Income in Dollars.	Average Dollars and cents per member per annum.
South African Meth. Miss. Society . . .	488,648	4.18
Foreign Churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church	785,917 ¹	2.87
Free Methodist Church of N. America . .	58,243	1.89
Do. Women's Society	6,800	
Canadian Methodist Church	518,102	1.87
Do. Women's Society	97,802	
Wesleyan Methodists of Gt. Britain—		
Home Income	782,884	1.59
Women's Auxiliary	96,000	
Foreign Income	945,182 ¹	6.59
French Methodist Church	2,820	1.28
American Auxiliary, Primitive Methodists .	600	0.85
Australasian Meth. Missionary Society . .	125,352	0.82
Wesleyan Methodist Connexion of America .	15,000	0.78
Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A. . . .	1,357,886	0.63
Do. Women's Society	689,818	
Do. from Home Mission Board for Asiatics and Indians	49,847	
Do. Do. Women's Soc.	80,685	
United Methodist Ch. Miss. Soc., Gt. Britain	116,045	0.62
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	766,716	0.46
Do. for work among Jews	1,500	
Methodist Protestant Church, U.S.A. . . .	28,889	0.25
Do. Woman's Society	22,866	
Primitive Methodist Miss. Soc., Gt. Britain .	39,587	0.18
African Methodist Episcopal Church	35,000	0.04
Do. Women's Society	4,886	
Do. Zion Church	18,000	0.04
Do. Do. Woman's Soc.	1,200	
New York City Church Extension Miss. Soc.	12,912	—
World Total	\$6,981,587	\$0.80

The average missionary contribution per Church member per year is 80 cents, the world over. So that Methodism is not likely to become bankrupt yet on account of its devotion to the foreign missionary cause; 80 cents, or 8s. 4d., per member per year is not a big figure, especially as a considerable portion of that amount is contributed by those who are not in the Church membership roll at all. The fact is that although the devotion of many Methodist people to this great cause is sacrificial, yet of the majority that cannot be said.

¹ This includes grants, and is divided by the foreign membership alone for the proportion in the second column.

The following are the figures for world-wide Methodism. (The Wesleyan work in Spain and Italy is not included, I find.)

I. FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.

Ordained	918
Physicians—Men	67
" Women	58
Laymen—not physicians	104
Married Women—not physicians	769
Unmarried Women—not physicians	648
Total foreign missionaries, deducting for those placed under more than one heading	<u>2,528</u>

II. NATIVE MISSIONARIES.

Ordained	1,419
Unordained, teachers, preachers, biblewomen, etc.	19,480
Total	<u>20,840</u>

Note that there are eight native workers to every foreign one. Note also the absolute necessity of raising the educational efficiency of these to the level of the foreigner. We need not say that their moral and spiritual equality is even a more important matter.

III. STATIONS.

Principal Stations	673
Sub-stations	6,089

IV. NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS.

Baptized Christians	708,105
Total Christians and adherents, whether baptized or not	1,448,294
Sunday-school Teachers and Scholars	458,165
Native Church contributions in U.S.A. dollars	796,080

Another matter that strikes us is the division of forces on the mission-field, and the loss sustained by that. Elaborate investigation into the facts shows that Methodists are engaged in work in forty-one areas of the world. In many of these a number of different Churches and Societies are working—all Methodist, and yet all wasting both money and men in supervising areas that are more or less common. How do the facts look? The following are the countries and the separate churches or missionary societies, at work in each. Japan has three separate Methodisms at work in it; Korea two; China seven; British Malaysia, Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, New Zealand (Maoris), Melanesia and Polynesia, only one each; India has three distinct Methodist organizations; Ceylon one; Bulgaria one; North-West Africa (between Tripoli and Morocco) two; Western Africa (from the Senegal to Nigeria) has seven different Methodist Missionary Societies at work; South-West Africa (Kamerun to German South-West Africa) two; South Africa (British Union, with Basutoland and Swaziland) has five separate Methodisms; South Central Africa (five British Protectorates) three; East Africa (Portuguese,

German and British) has three Methodisms; Madeira, Argentine Republic, Chili, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, one each; Brazil has two; Central America including Panama has three; Mexico and the Lesser Antilles have two each; Porto Rico one; Haiti and San Domingo three; Jamaica three; Cuba two; the Bahamas one; work among the North American Indians and Eskimos carried on in the United States and Alaska is conducted by two Churches; work among Asiatic immigrants to the United States by two; Canada and the Labrador in its work among Asiatics, American Indians, and Eskimos manages to get on with no second missionary society.

No one can quietly go over the list and imagine the necessary work of supervision that must be carried on if efficiency is to be realized, without being not a little appalled at the waste of money and forces in the crossing over of the work. Furthermore, one feels now that collaboration, in work and in common institutions, should be the rule in the same linguistic areas.

In the areas of any considerable size or population where only one Missionary Society is working, as a rule very little has as yet been attempted. Judging by the past, if serious work began, the Societies engaging in it would multiply.

✓ Of course you could dump all the missionaries of the world into India, or into China, without reaching all the population, or nearly reaching them, in either of those great conglomerations of peoples. How pathetic then is it at this time of day, with the forces of heathenism amenable to influence and with the insufficiency of our resources, that so much wealth in both men and money should be lost by lack of co-operation and generalship!

Our objective being the salvation of the race, division of labour and restriction of area should be the tacit principle for missionary operations among all true Methodists. We are the friends of all and the enemies of none, least of all enemies of those who are nearest us and bear the same name. For the sake of mere organization it becomes us not to hinder or injure the work of God. We have an Oecumenical Conference: it would be a good thing if we had an effective Oecumenical Missionary Bureau for co-operative and transfer purposes, to avoid waste and friction. Best of all would it be to pool our Methodist Missions among the heathen in any given linguistic area. Space does not divide comparably with language.

Looking at the world-wide operations of our Methodist Churches among the heathen, the fruit is abundant enough to cause great thanksgiving to God. From the heathen and Mohammedan world the call to the churches at this time is loud. Mighty peoples are open to our influence as never before. Indeed, apart from Afghanistan, Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal, the whole world is open to the gospel. Let us pray for labourers to enter into the great harvest; let us conserve the means and forces there are already at our disposal, so as the sooner to gain our end; let us combine in every possible manner so as to secure the most perfect efficiency and the strongest possible power to attack; and let us not cease from our prayer and labour and thought and sacrifice till the present weltering

chaos of heathen thought and life and usage be subdued to the will and word and example of the Lord Jesus.

The two thousand Christian students gathered at Liverpool in January show how profoundly the heaven of Christ is stirring the coming age. The divisions bred of the quarrels of our grandfathers are nothing to us. Christ is all, and His Command to disciple the nations is enough. 'But one thing is needful' and 'the world is our parish.'

In conclusion, the thought occurs that those who are cynical, or supercilious, or indifferent about the ecclesiastical combination of the Methodists for the evangelizing and saving of the common people of England are hardly likely to rise to the idea of the union of Methodism for the evangelization of the race. However, we are saved by faith, and believers are the saviours of the world, under Christ and His Holy Spirit. And they are the saviours of the Church also.

JAMES LEWIS.

EARLY MAN

THE Professor of Geology and Palaeontology in the University of Oxford has written a book on *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives* (Macmillan & Co.), which is of extraordinary interest. It is an attempt to trace the early history of man in the light of scientific exploration in many parts of the world. Dr. Sollas has visited the painted caves of France, and describes their wonders in a way that will make every man of science eager to see them with his own eyes. He has carried out personal research in South Africa, and under the guidance of the chief explorers and students of Europe has gone over the scenes of their discoveries and formed his personal estimate of their value. The 235 illustrations form a museum filled with specimens which light up the whole of the exposition. A fine chivalry for the lower races and a sympathy with their sorrows and wrongs give a glow to many descriptions of Tasmanians and Bushmen. The volume is the first survey of the whole field which has appeared in England. It has long been needed, and it is marked by the knowledge and sound judgement that entitle it to rank as an authoritative text-book on its subject. Every one with a taste for such inquiries will find its chapters nothing less than fascinating.

Schemper the poet-naturalist stimulated the researches of Agassiz into 'The Great Ice Age,' and he reached the conclusion that at no distant date the earth had passed through a period of extreme cold, when ice and snow covered large parts of its surface. Scarcely a year passes which does not add new facts in confirmation of that view. Prof. Sollas takes us to the Gorner Grat, where we look with the aid of his fine frontispiece from Monte Rosa to the Matterhorn. If the mass of slowly moving ice below these peaks could be swept away, we should be able to trace the smoothness of rounded outline caused by the abrasive action of the glacier and mark the grooves and scratches indicating the direction once taken by the river of ice. A general rise of 4° or 5° C. would drive the snow-line high up the

Swiss peaks and all the glaciers would disappear. If the temperature fell 8°C. , the Boden glacier would be so enlarged that it would reach the valley of the Rhone. In the valley of the Visp the trained eye can detect on every side signs of the ancient extension of the ice on the most stupendous scale. Nearer home 'smoothed and striated surfaces, boulder clay and superficial morainic material' make it clear that the greater part of the British Isles was once 'buried out of sight beneath a mantle of ice formed by the confluence of many colossal glaciers.' Large parts of North America were thus covered, and the Southern hemisphere seems to have been similarly affected. The Great Ice Age affected the whole of our planet.

Dr. Sollas holds that no evidence, forcible enough to compel universal belief, has been found of the existence of man before the Great Ice Age. Dr. Dubois discovered in Java in 1891 three teeth, a cranial vault and a thigh bone which he proclaimed to be the remains of the ancestral man. The leading anatomists of Europe consider these to be the remains of an animal that bore a close resemblance to men and apes. 'Some regard *Pithecanthropus* as an ape with certain human characters, others as a man with evident Simian characters; others again, and in particular Dr. Dubois himself, regard it as a connecting-link, standing midway between man and the higher apes.' Dr. Sollas inclines to the opinion that *Pithecanthropus* was separated only by a few steps from man. In 1909 a lower jaw of a primitive man was found at Mauer, near Heidelberg, in a bed of fluviatile sand, at the depth of about eighty feet. 'The dentition is completely human, the teeth forming a close, regular series.' The incisors are comparatively small, no larger than those of existing men, whereas in the Anthropoid ape these teeth are much larger. This Heidelberg man, the oldest known European, belongs to none of the existing races of mankind. Prof. Sollas thinks that he marks the highest level reached by human evolution in Pleistocene days. In October last, since Prof. Sollas's book was written, Mr. Muir had discovered a human skeleton beneath an undisturbed layer of chalk boulder clay, more than a mile north of Ipswich. This is thought to represent the earliest remains of man yet found in England and in Europe with the exception of the Heidelberg jaw. The chalky boulder clay is far earlier than the Neanderthal man whose remains have been found in France. The Ipswich skeleton lay on the right side with the legs folded up on the body and the arms flexed (see the *Times*, Feb. 1, 1912).

As to coliths, or pebbles thought to be shaped by man, we have no unequivocal marks of design in the Tertiary period. Earth pressure or torrent action may account for the shapes assumed. Every touch of the finished flint implement met with in Pleistocene deposits tells of intelligent design. A study of the Tasmanians helps us to understand the past by the present. They were a Palaeolithic race, and supply clues and analogues for reconstructing with some probability the past by the help of the present. France has yielded rich material in the deposits of caves, river gravels, and other sediments which form the Palaeolithic series. Prof. Sollas took with his own hand several flakes from the Mesvinian gravel at Helin near Spiennes, which he says were shaped by an intelligent being and are the earliest

known implements used by Palaeolithic man. The trail left by man in these days is carefully followed to extract all information possible and to discover the fauna of the age. Not a single implement remains which can be regarded as a weapon.

In the Mousterian age, which takes its name from the cave of Le Moustier in the valley of the Vézère, Dordogne, we first see man himself. His implements are much improved in design and workmanship. He now first made his home in caves. The mammoth then lived, and remains of plants found in 1901 in the stomach of one of these creatures included several which still grow in the Siberian tundra. The Arctic fox, the glutton, the marmot, the hare, and the musk-ox were included in the fauna. Bones found in caves show that the rhinoceros, wild horse, reindeer, mammoth and bison were killed by these ancient hunters. One of them was found buried on his back with a number of implements, fragments of ochre, and broken bones around him. 'This was evidently a ceremonial interment, accompanied by offerings of food and implements for the use of the deceased in the spirit world.' Faith had made a home in man's breast far back on the edge of the Great Ice Age. A skeleton discovered in the Neanderthal not far from Dusseldorf in 1856 was the first discovery of Mousterian man. A prominent ridge extends between the temples, and the capacity of the skull is large. These early men had big brains. Dr. Sollas turns next to the Australian aborigines, who show a considerable advance in the culture of Neanderthal man.

In Upper Palaeolithic times the horse, cave lion, and cave hyena are comparatively abundant. The climate seems to have become milder. The art of working flints has advanced, and man could spare some time from his hunting. Sculpture, painting, and drawing reach a surprising excellence. No illustrations in this book are more attractive than those found on the roof of the cave of Altamira in 1878, by the little daughter of a Spanish nobleman who was waiting impatiently whilst her father was digging for flints. The discovery was received with general incredulity, but later discoveries abundantly confirmed it. It became clear also that the nearest representatives of the Aurignacian age are to be found among the Bushmen of whom Dr. Sollas gives a most interesting account. They were clever thinkers and no mean artists. Besides painting animals they engraved them on the rocks. The figure of an elephant on the march is 'a perfect triumph of realistic art.' The Bushmen were fond of music, and made greater advances in that art than any other tribes of South Africa.

Magdalenian man is compared with the Eskimo, who are perhaps the expelled Palaeolithic hunters. The last of the ancient hunting tribes were the Azilians, so called from the cave of Mas d'Azil, Ariège, where some remarkable painted pebbles were found. They used a harpoon of reindeer horn, and were both hunters and fishermen.

As to the vexed problem of chronology, Prof. Sollas thinks our Neolithic predecessors were beginning to found their pile-dwellings in the lakes six millenniums ago. The last glacial episode lies perhaps 17,000 years back from these times. Magdalenian man probably flourished about 12,000

years ago. That is a modest date compared with 100,000 years sometimes claimed for the Neolithic period. The whole subject, however, is one of enormous complexity, and a scientist like Dr. Sollas has learned to be modest and reserved in his conclusions. We owe much to such patient investigation in these difficult by-paths, and there is a richer harvest yet to come.

JOHN TELFORD.

MYSTICISM AND EVANGELISM

A NOTABLE feature of recent theological literature has been the number of books of varying quality on the apparently unrelated subjects of mysticism and evangelism. In the former case good results are already appearing in the differentiation of the religious attitudes to which a common name has been wont to be given, and in the investment of the word with a precise meaning. The philosophers, too, are taking up the other important matter of evangelism, and among its exponents may now be reckoned the distinguished editor of the best edition of Butler's three sermons on human nature. One wonders whether there is any living relation between Christian mysticism, rightly understood, and evangelism. Are the two entirely unconnected, merely streams of thought and purpose that happen to flow near one another for a time? Or are they really two faces of a medal, or two aspects of a central fact, with an inspiration and secret common to both, expressing itself in the one case in personal experience and in the other in an interpretation of duty?

Much of the difficulty of the question arises from the obscurity attaching to the term mysticism. This, however, has been reduced by the application of philosophical and historical methods of study. To minds of a certain cast the mere mention of the word is an irritant, not neutralized by statements that mystical experience is essentially supernatural, or that mysticism itself is the attempt either to transcend the limits of sense and reason, or to find transcendental knowledge within them. Strictly speaking, it is neither a philosophy nor a theory, but the most practical of the arts and the most effective method of pursuing the indispensable search for reality. Edward Caird saw this when he wrote that 'mysticism is religion in its most concentrated and exclusive form; it is that attitude of mind in which all other relations are swallowed up in the relation of the soul to God.' It would have been better had he written of an attitude of soul, for the mind is not the only and perhaps not the most important of the avenues of access to God. Nor can it be said that the swallowing-up of relations in the conscious relation with God is a characteristic of the highest forms of mysticism. In true mysticism the consciousness of God does not destroy or supersede the interests of life and duty, but merely grades them in orderly subordination to God, thereby investing them with adequate sanctions and restraining them within legitimate limits. Rufus Jones, again, identifies mysticism with 'the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God, on direct

and intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence,' and proceeds to call it religion itself 'in its most acute, intense, and living stage.' The adjectives may not be well selected, but the sentiment is unimpeachable. For mysticism is clearly the centre and crown of all religions worthy the name. It is found as an accompaniment of the primitive beliefs of the uncivilized. It quickens now and again the dreary paragraphs of Talmudical exegesis. It represents and is the experience of every aspiring soul that is not helplessly entangled in the mesh of a wholly mechanical conception of religion, or drugged by theories of the value of sacramental grace apart from the moral condition of the participant. Mysticism is in reality but another term for religion, not as professed but as intended to be lived, whether religion is resolved into the fear of a god or the sense of dependence upon him. Accordingly Evelyn Underhill in her great book, certainly the best that has yet appeared in English on the subject, defines mysticism generally as 'the art of establishing conscious relation with the Absolute,' and proceeds to indicate its definite and practical character. Metaphysics leads to the discovery and perception of God, whom the heart learns to love; and the right issue is a fellowship culminating in union, the attainment of which is the goal of the human soul.

What is true of mysticism in general cannot be untrue of Christian mysticism, the most highly developed specimen of the type. Not only is the New Testament full of it, but in almost every Epistle it stands at the apex of religious experience, or is made either the means of ascent or the measure and test of perfection. A variety of names are used in its description, according as attention is given to each of the Persons in the Godhead. It is called the indwelling of Christ in the believer or of the believer in Christ, the being moved by or filled with the Holy Spirit, fellowship with the Father, fellowship with the Son. In all cases the essential feature is conscious union with God, which is in every religion the aim and the process of the mystic. 'I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me' defines a real experience, for which in its completeness many have longed, and which in its preliminary stages many have known. Participation in a divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4) becomes so full, identification with Christ so complete, that the disciple is describing his life with equal accuracy, whether he thinks of his own soul or of his Saviour as its ruler and quickener. The two by grace have become one. Nothing could be more characteristically mystical, just as nothing is rooted more deeply in the instincts and longings of the Christian soul. Accordingly, Christian mysticism may be considered as union with Christ in its influences upon experience, as far as mind, heart, and purposes of self-culture are concerned.

On the other hand it must be asked, What is evangelism? As in the previous case, the idea has suffered much at the hands of its friends. It is apt to be taken as descriptive of a single method of Christian service, instead of as denoting a principle in the application of which many methods are appropriate and equally legitimate. In reality it implies an obligation, resting upon every Christian, to bring men and women into contact with Christ, or into closer contact with Him. It is identification with Christ in the interest and the service of men, just as mysticism is identification with

Him in devotion and experience. Just as the one is becoming more widely recognized as an integral part or even as an equivalent of personal religion, so the other is a law of duty, insistent and imperious, admitting neither excuse nor discharge. Between the two stands Jesus Christ, an inspiration in either direction. With Him the sinner, bent upon assured peace with God, enters into a double union. In the one phase the union means sure advance towards perfecting of soul; in the other it becomes a sense of bond-service, whereby the whole life is made an effort to exalt Christ by winning the souls of men or binding them more whole-heartedly to Him. That is evangelism in the proper sense, the counterpart of mysticism, and the function of every saved man.

Were evidence outside the New Testament and the reason of things needful, it could be found in the witness of many of the mystics. One of them styled quietism 'a deceitful repose,' and called upon his readers to denounce and crush it. In the light of history it has continually proved a synonym for laziness and the forgetfulness of God. True mysticism is an impulse to activity, as may be seen in unexpected instances. Even Blake professed a passionate purpose not to cease from mental fight or warlike effort—

Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

Teresa taught her disciples not to think that union with God was absorption, deaf to the claims of ordinary duty or of evangelism. On the contrary, she argued that the soul 'turns with greater ardour than before to all that which belongs to the service of God; and when those occupations leave her free again, she remains in the enjoyment of that sweet companionship.' Christ and Christ alone is the abiding source of grace and spiritual power, the Master and Lord of the Christian soul. He invites His people to union with Himself, and becomes to them at once their Leader and their law. As Leader, He guides them into all the mystical and sanctifying joys of His own perfect union with the Father; and as law, in His sovereignty of love He binds upon every one of them the obligations of evangelism, in order that His triumph may be secured.

R. W. Moss.

THE LATE PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN

By the death of Dr. Fairbairn British Nonconformity has lost one of its greatest scholars and theologians. Gifted with an unlimited capacity for hard work, a Scots undaunted determination, the mind of a thinker equally at home with history and philosophy, and above all, with a profound faith in Christianity, he nobly merited the national recognition, irrespective of Church and creed, which his personality and achievements won for him. In this respect his career recalls that of his friend and compeer, Dr. Dale, though he played a less public part than the latter in the civic and political life of his generation. He was born near Edinburgh,

and the first forty years of his life belong to Scotland. In the preface to *Christ in Modern Theology* he pays a beautiful tribute to his grandfather. 'His daughter was my mother, and the daughter so loved and revered the father, so remembered his sayings, so understood his mind, so believed the faith that ruled and guided him, that she had no higher thought for her son than to make him such a man as her father had been. And so, invisible as he was, he became the real parent of the spirit and character of the man who now writes this book.'

After graduating at Edinburgh in 1860, Fairbairn entered the ministry of the Evangelical Union Church. A brief pastorate at Fraserburgh was followed by the acceptance of a call to Bathgate: finally in 1872 he became minister of the Evangelical Union Church, St. Paul's Street, Aberdeen. Five years later he was appointed Principal of the Airedale Independent College at Bradford. He had already achieved notice by learned contributions to various periodicals, and now his fame as preacher and theologian began steadily to grow. While an undergraduate at Cambridge, the present writer heard him for the first time in the Emmanuel Congregational Church, Trumpington Street. The memory of that service is vivid to-day. Dr. Fairbairn was not like any other preacher I have listened to. Disdaining the use of notes or manuscript, he poured forth a torrent of eloquent speech, his strong rugged features irradiated the while with the light of his spiritual and intellectual enthusiasm. His gestures were animated, and his discourse blended the qualities of spiritual vision and imagination with the gifts of logical expression and philosophic grasp. It was keenly intellectual preaching, the utterance less of the mystic than of the strong thinker, rejoicing in the strength of his dialectic and intensely possessed by the might of his own faith.

Many doubtless have felt in reading his books that he carried his antithetical style and his love of highly generalized statements too far: yet each of his books—even the earliest, such as *Religion in History and Modern Life*, a series of lectures addressed to the Bradford working men—carries with it the impress of greatness. We look back and confess with gratitude that *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* and *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*—the latter representing his most mature contribution to Christian thought—have marked epochs in our thinking and in the thinking of the day. In the vast output of theological literature, how few books live! but Fairbairn's have qualities that will serve the intellectual and spiritual needs of many generations. It may be indeed that the Hegelian idealism which underlies his interpretation of Christianity has lost its vogue; but from another standpoint his work is of permanent value in that he was one of the first of British theologians to realize the enormous importance of the study of comparative religion as a means to the proper understanding of the Christian faith.

The possession of these rich and varied gifts enabled him to capture Oxford, when in 1886 he became the first Principal of Mansfield College. To Dale and Fairbairn belongs the credit of carrying the project of a Nonconformist foundation at Oxford into reality; but it is not too much to say that it was Fairbairn who ensured the success of Mansfield. He came

with a reputation for erudition which Oxford could not ignore. Fairbairn's lectures were based on a scientific method untrammelled by dogmatic and ecclesiastical tradition; and in no other Oxford lecture-room was the teaching of religion so courageous, so robust, and so full of the fresh air of modernity. Mansfield under Fairbairn became the home of all the denominations, not only by reason of the Sunday services where Oxford men could hear the greatest preachers of the land, but by virtue of the gracious hospitalities extended to all university men by the Principal and Mrs. Fairbairn. I have heard it said that if Fairbairn left his impress on Oxford, Oxford also in turn left its impress on Fairbairn. There is a social grace in Oxford society to which even the most reserved natures sooner or later succumb, and in this atmosphere, the geniality and bonhomie of Fairbairn developed and made him universally beloved.

I never had the privilege of meeting him till near the close of his Mansfield career. It was manifest to all his friends that while his mental vigour was unabated, his physical powers had begun to yield to the natural processes of age. One of my pleasantest memories is of a certain foursome on the golf links at Radley, in which the characteristic resolution of the veteran scholar enabled him to triumph over physical limitations. In the club-house afterwards we discussed his approaching retirement, and one of his friends—a well-known Don—playfully suggested that he might found a new religion! Beneath the genial paradox lay a wealth of meaning. It was an expression of Oxford's reverence for a master in the realm of religious thought. His influence on the University was notable, because a certain type of Oxford thought laid far greater stress than Fairbairn ever did on the ecclesiastical or institutional side of Christianity. The sacramentarian and external aspects of the Christian religion never appealed to him: while its metaphysic and ethic, the Christological ideas and the spiritual, essential implications of the historic facts of the faith received at his hands a profound and sympathetic interpretation. As an idealist and an inheritor of the spirit of Greek theology, he had no place in his system of thought for a religion of authority. Perhaps he never did full justice to the Latin and Augustinian type of theology, nor to what Dr. Forsyth calls 'the centrality of the Cross,' nor to the depth and warmth of experimental religion: but he is to be judged, like every great theologian, by the work he actually accomplished on the lines marked out for him by his peculiar genius and temperament: and upon this there can be but one verdict. He was in his generation a true *servus servorum Dei*, who consecrated his years of toil, his encyclopaedic learning, and his virile faith to the Church of Christ. And as we think of his strenuous personality and its influence upon his fellows, we cannot but imagine that his rest, like that of Arnold of Rugby, is a spiritual activity 'in the sounding labour-house vast of being.'

R. MARTIN POPE.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Vol. IV: Confirmation—Drama. (T. & T. Clark. In cloth, 28s. net.)

A CONSPICUOUS excellence of this great work is the fullness with which a subject is treated, when it is essential for the student to have the opportunity of comparing its manifold aspects as they present themselves either in their historical development or among different peoples. Half of this volume is given to eight subjects, but those subjects require for their adequate treatment more than 120 articles. The longest series of articles is on 'Death and Disposal of the Dead,' upon which twenty scholars write, specialists on their several themes, as e.g. Primitive, Babylonian, Egyptian, Jewish, Muhammadan, &c. In his valuable contribution on 'Early Christian' customs, Prof. Mitchell, of Hartford Theological Seminary, New York, shows that 'Funeral rites were extended so as to include elaborate ceremonials, most of which were drawn more or less unconsciously from the surrounding pagan practices, although the Christians never lost the primitive faith and feeling which distinguished their early funeral customs.' Among the subjects which are treated with similar elaboration are: 'Demons and Spirits,' 'Crimes and Punishments,' 'Cosmogony and Cosmology,' 'Disease and Medicine,' 'Councils and Synods.'

Some of the articles which, for various reasons, have specially appealed to us may be briefly mentioned. Prof. Iverach's treatment of 'Consciousness' is comprehensive and able. With vigour, and at times with rigour, popular theories are opposed. But there is need of his reminder that 'the basis of certainty lies in consciousness. Its affirmations, its intuitions, are the foundations on which we build.' Therefore 'we must,' argues Dr. Iverach, 'exhaust the possibilities of consciousness, as the source of explanation, ere we seek to bring in the subconscious and the unconscious as a positive principle of explanation.' In a luminous article of eight pages on 'Covenant Theology,' Prof. W. Adams Brown goes far towards supplying us with what he regards as 'still a desideratum,' namely 'a good monograph' on the subject. The Rev. W. Major Scott, of Croydon, favourably known by his book on *Aspects of Christian Mysticism*, writes on 'Devotion and Devotional Literature.' The manifold aspects of the devotional life are described with true spiritual insight. The

section on 'Devotional Literature' might have been extended with advantage. Dr. Williston Walker, of Yale, in an admirable sketch of 'Congregationalism,' takes note of 'a centralizing tendency,' and sees in process of development 'a system of superintendency, without judicial or mandatory powers, but with large advisory influence.' Dr. W. T. Whitley, an authority on Baptist history, writes on 'Connexionalism' not unsympathetically, though some of its perils are scarcely as menacing as he thinks. It is acknowledged that 'as a matter of history, every great revival of religion has fashioned its machinery on somewhat connexional lines.' Mr. Benjamin Kidd closes his lucid account of 'Darwinism' with a timely warning against the disregarding of the higher qualities of our social evolution in current naturalistic teaching about Eugenics. There is often an ignoring of 'the entire range of the problems of morality and mind.' The articles by the Rev. James Strachan, M.A., deserve special mention; on 'Creation,' 'Criticism (Old Testament),' 'Conversion,' and 'Divine Right' he writes with sound judgement. Breadth of knowledge and depth of spiritual experience characterize his treatment of 'Conversion.' Good use is made of the researches of psychologists, but they are not regarded as infallible.

Dr. H. B. Workman gives the results of scholarly research, and, as is his wont, directs attention to the main issues involved in the important eras of history represented by 'Constantine' and 'Crusades.' The Rev. R. M. Pope, M.A., writes instructively on 'Contempt' and 'Contentment,' Dr. Geden explains two Vedic terms, 'Darsana' and 'Devayana,' and the Rev. J. H. Bateson gives a succinct account of the 'Buddhist Creed.'

A careful perusal of this volume has deepened our sense of the unique value to the student of this *Encyclopaedia*. Dr. Hastings is once more to be congratulated on his comprehensive plan, on his choice of authors, and on the high standard of excellence reached by most of his contributors.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. Unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gunkel und Otto Scheel herausgegeben von F. M. Schiele und L. Zscharnack. Vol. III. *Hesshus—Lyttou.* (Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr. London : Williams & Norgate. Half-bound, 27s. net.)

The third volume of this ably edited *Encyclopaedia* fully maintains the high standard of excellence reached in the two volumes previously noticed in this Review. Of special interest in this volume are the admirable engravings illustrating the articles on *Catacombs*, *Church Architecture*, &c.

Among the more important contributions of Gunkel are the articles on *Hezekiah*, *Job*, *Jonah*, *Jahve*, *Immanuel*. It is an advantage to have succinct statements of his views on the origin and trustworthiness of the Old Testament narratives. The final verdict will probably be that he has over-estimated the legendary element, but it is his merit to have shown

its great historical importance as reflecting ancient nomad life and thought, whereas Wellhausen assigns the legends to the monarchical period, depriving them of historical value. Benzinger writes luminously on such subjects as *Canaan, Israel and Judah*. Gressmann, in his sketch of *Jensen*, gives convincing reasons for rejecting the theory of dependence on Babylonian myths expounded in his writings on the Gilgamesh Epic.

As indicating the range of the Encyclopaedia and the number of specialists whose services have been secured, the titles of a few of the important articles may be mentioned. *Idealism* is by E. W. Mayer, *Causality* by Wendland, *Immanence and Transcendence of God* by Steinmann, *Roman Empire* by Preuschen, *Jesuits* by Köhler, *Highest Good* by Titius, *Homiletics* by Bauer, *Gospel of John* by Bousset, *Islam* by Becker, and *Judaism* by Fiebig.

As is befitting such a theme, the longest article is on *Jesus Christ*. It extends to ninety pages. Prof. Heitmüller of Marburg, co-editor with Bousset of the *Theologische Rundschau*, is responsible for the main sections, and to Prof. Baumgarten of Kiel is assigned the subject of *Jesus Christ in Present-day Thought*. It is impossible to state here at length our reasons for not accepting the critical judgements on which what is known as the 'liberal' estimate of the person of Christ ultimately rests. On insufficient grounds some Synoptic passages are first regarded as 'doubtful,' and are then neglected in estimating the evidence of the Gospels on such subjects as the consciousness of Jesus. It remains, however, to recognize the positive value of both these articles. Heitmüller ably defends against modern attacks the historicity of Jesus. Having shown that evidence furnished by non-Christian writers makes it impossible to erase the figure of Jesus from the pages of history, he shows how high an estimate should be placed on the witness of St. Paul, and he asks those who discount the value of the evidence of a disciple of Christ, 'Who doubts the historicity of Socrates because we are indebted to his admirers Plato and Xenophon for the most important accounts of him? And where do we learn anything about Buddha, except from Buddhist literature?' It would be impossible to find, within the same space as Baumgarten's article occupies, such clear and detailed sketches of the portrait of Jesus as it is presented by modern schools of thought both within and outside the Christian Church.

An excellent article on *Hymnology* refers to Charles Wesley's hymns as 'sometimes full of repetitions and wearisome on account of their length, yet containing deep, genuine poetry in manifold forms.' Mention should be made of the value of the Encyclopaedia as a 'Who's Who' for handy reference, not only for Christian names famous in history, but also for names of contemporaries. Succinct biographies are given of such men as Hilty, Von Hügel, Kalthoff, Jatho, Kaftan (*Julius and Theodore*).

The editors need to have the proofs revised by an Englishman. The use of capitals in English titles is eccentric, apostrophes are rare. 'Mr. Rev.' (p. 162), 'fundation' (p. 217), 'intitled' (p. 2054), are specimens of errors one does not expect to find in a work of such high excellence as this.

On p. 299 the titles of two well-known hymns are printed thus: 'I love the Kingdom, God,' and 'Just as J am.'

The Encyclopaedia is to be completed in five volumes, and for students it will be an indispensable work of reference. The Editor's skill is conspicuous in the relative length or brevity of the various articles.

The Psychology of the Christian Soul. By George Steven, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

In these Cunningham Lectures for 1911 Mr. Steven has given us a delightful book. It is a finely balanced, reverent discussion of methods of approaching and interpreting religious experience which are bound to become more and more influential in the equipment of the Christian teacher. Even readers who may be feeling a trifle impatient with hasty and ill-considered applications of psychology to spiritual experience will find here a reassurance not only of the legitimacy but also of the practical value of the psychological method. The ruling conception of the book is that psychological phenomena are symbols of spiritual process; and that spiritual process is God working in the minds of men. The supernatural includes man; his spirit partakes of its qualities; and Christianity is an educative process by which the spiritual nature of man may acquire its complete expression. The distinctive feature of Mr. Steven's treatment is that he regards the Christian religion as primarily creative and educative in human personality; it is redemptive only as the result of failure and sin. Both the educative and redemptive power are found in the personality of Jesus Christ. The distinctly redemptive process, however, is needed more or less by all. In a broader sense the educative is a part of the redemptive process. But as the redemptive is familiar, Mr. Steven elects to deal specially with 'the religion of Jesus Christ as an educative process.' 'Educative process' may seem to many a narrowing of the purpose and power of the manifestation of the divine, but it is claimed as covering the whole process of leading man into the fullness of fellowship with the Father—an eternal process indeed by which God seeks the fellowship of men. Large and reiterated emphasis is placed by Mr. Steven upon the value of the Christian home and Christian education as a part of the redemptive process, which is primarily educative. 'Education for God is the development of the divine within.' But education does not dispense with conversion and the necessity of regeneration: it is the means of these. '“Conversion” is “reversion,” accomplished by means of an appeal to our earlier life and education—to an education which may be nothing now but a memory lying hid in the subconscious mind, but without which an entreaty to turn to God would be unmeaning' (p. 25). It will be seen that Mr. Steven's method involves a fairly full discussion of the religious place and value of the Subconscious. Nowhere is the sanity and restraint of the author seen to better advantage than in this dis-

cussion. He has no place for the subliminal consciousness of Mr. F. W. H. Myers or of Dr. Sanday—the larger self beyond the possibilities of consciousness. The only subconsciousness admitted as a factor in the problem of the Christian soul is that which is the product of consciousness, the abiding deposit of experience in its myriad varieties and infinitesimal quantities in character, the past of the Self always available and, indeed, inevitable as an activity influencing the expression of the conscious Self of the present and future. In the easy and illuminating progress in which we accompany Mr. Steven towards his goal we have most suggestive studies in the secret of 'The Slavery of Sin,' in 'The Liberating of the Soul through Conversion,' in 'The Capture of the Soul by God,' and also in the difficult psychological problems involved in the experiences of 'The Soul in the Mass-movement of a Revival.' The goal is 'The Soul in the Presence of God.' This last chapter is full of wise and gracious spiritual interpretations—sometimes of equally wise admonitions: 'The presence of God is something we are always tending to make external, as if God had yet to come to us.' We wondered, however, as the writer admonished us against limiting the 'Presence' to Sacraments, whether he had fully kept in mind his own admonition in his discussion of the 'Presence' in the Word. On the psychological side Mr. Steven, who gives ample evidence of his equipment as a psychologist, assigns the supreme place in religious values to 'attention.' 'Attention is the master-key to the psychology of the Christian soul.' He prefers the term 'the slavery of the attention' to 'the slavery of the will' in interpreting the bondage to sin. Many of his statements may not pass unchallenged with some of his readers, but they convey important suggestions, especially to teachers and preachers. 'The continual struggle against sin keeps it active.' 'To pray against certain sins to which we have rendered ourselves liable is to strengthen them; because it is directing attention to them.' 'This is why some men sin in spite of their prayers.' 'The gospel remedy and the psychological is to turn to God.' 'The only effective inhibition of any inward evil is to turn the attention not on the evil we mean to flee, but on the life we mean to attain.' Mr. Steven has many and great gifts for the task he has so successfully essayed. He has the instincts—possibly the training of an educationist; he knows the art of soul analysis, and is throughout intensely alive to the more difficult art of soul winning. Of his literary gifts no reader can be unconscious. We have marked quite a multitude of sentences full of charm and surprise—that last perfection of a writer on well-worn themes. He is courageously loyal to evangelical truth, though he reminds us on more than one page that 'finality is the one heresy.' Several times in reading the volume and yielding ourselves to its stimulating influences we have been reminded of the first reading of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. The theme is different, of course, but the service Mr. Steven has rendered for the interpretation of the things of the spirit in the psychological atmosphere of to-day is similar to that which Prof. Drummond rendered for the scientific setting of religious thought nearly a generation ago; moreover, the qualities of style revealed by the two writers are not too far removed for comparison.

Studies of Paul and his Gospel. By A. E. Garvie, M.A.,
D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.)

The Religious Experience of St. Paul. By Percy Gardner,
Litt.D. (Williams & Norgate. 5s. net.)

If proof were needed of the undying attraction of the personality and teaching of Paul, we might point to the studies of the apostle which have already appeared during the last publishing season, while it is not easy to keep pace with the ever-growing volume of Continental literature on the same theme. Dr. Garvie's studies originally appeared in the *Expositor*, and are well worthy of preservation in a complete and permanent form. A valuable feature of his method is the careful and courageous way in which he relates the apostle's teaching to the modern standpoint, never shirking difficulties of interpretation, nor avoiding the issues which have to be faced by a candid mind engaged in differentiating the permanent elements of the apostle's witness from these which are evidently the offspring of his environment and his Rabbinical training.

The book is divided into two parts—the first dealing with the man, the second with the message. Under the first head we limit ourselves to the notice of two points. Dr. Garvie dissents from Sir William Ramsay's emphatic advocacy of the strong hellenization of Pauline thought, and, while recognizing the influence of the Gentile world in confirming and developing tendencies inherent in his gospel, believes that 'none of the distinctive features of his gospel can be traced to a Gentile origin.' Paul is essentially a Jew and Jewish in his cosmology, angelology, demonology, and eschatology. It is a difficult question: but Dr. Garvie seems to us to attach insufficient weight to the effects of Paul's university life, his contact with Greek thought, and the Hellenic influences to which his ancestors had been subjected. Hellenism had profoundly modified the thought and life of Western Asia, and Paul's emancipation from Judaism was due to Christianity, but also to Christianity acting on a hellenized mind. Hence we would be disposed to expand the statement, which seems to us too absolute, that it was Paul's 'experience of Christ and his exposition of the Cross that led him to his *expansion of the Church* to include Gentile as well as Jew.'

Further, we note that Dr. Garvie regards Rom. vii. 7-25 as a transcript of Paul's experience before his conversion: but we sometimes wonder whether the difficulty of referring it as a whole either to the one stage or the other of his spiritual experiences is not due to our failure to recognize that the apostle may be passing, perhaps, unconsciously from the past to the present under the emotional stress of his self-analysis. Even if we hesitate to accept the view which Dr. Garvie, following Dr. Bruce, considers probable, namely that Paul was peculiarly subject to the temptation of sensuality (which may be 'the stake in the flesh'), we have ample evidence of his deliberate asceticism—a feature of his character which points to the fact of a ceaseless struggle, probably at times so acute as to evoke the cry of anguish, none the less bitter because he is so sure

of his loyalty to Christ, 'Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?'

We cannot dwell at length on Dr. Garvie's exposition of the Pauline gospel: but we may single out as of special value the chapter on 'The righteousness of God,' which closes with a series of propositions summarizing the essential features of a doctrine of objective atonement. Such terms as *substitution* and *satisfaction* are admirably interpreted. Dr. Garvie here and elsewhere in the book expounds the accepted positions of Christian theology in terms which are calculated to meet the objections of modern thought. 'The work of the Spirit' is a theme which requires careful treatment owing to the apostle's apparent identification of the spiritual Christ with the Holy Spirit, and Dr. Garvie presents a lucid statement of Paul's doctrine of the spirit as 'an objective divine reality.' We are grateful for the insight which has enabled the author to give so powerful a contribution to Christian thought.

The outstanding feature of Dr. Percy Gardner's treatise is its freshness, or, to use a favourite term of the author's, its 'modernity.' He has attempted, as he says, to read St. Paul's epistles as if they had come before him for the first time: and he has succeeded in conveying to his own work something of the spirit which he eulogizes in Matthew Arnold's essay of forty years ago, 'still,' he remarks, 'the best short account of the Pauline theology known to me . . . so greatly does insight surpass learning.' Dr. Gardner, however, brings to the study of St. Paul an equipment of learning and research to which Matthew Arnold, with all his admirable gifts of style and intuition, could lay no claim; and though some of his conclusions may startle the orthodox reader, the author's reverence for Christianity and its institutions, his sense of the greatness and spiritual power of St. Paul and his sympathy with the character of the great apostle's inspiration are unmistakable.

In an introductory chapter Dr. Gardner contends that the epistles are our best authorities for St. Paul's views: even the speeches of the Acts are sources which we have to use with care, because Luke is a writer of great dramatic skill, probably follows the accepted custom of ancient historians in putting speeches in the mouths of their heroes and, what is more important, differs entirely from St. Paul in his naïve delight in the miraculous and his love of the picturesque and catastrophic. Luke was undoubtedly a brilliant man of letters—perhaps the most brilliant from the literary standpoint of all the New Testament writers—but we are inclined to think that Dr. Gardner under-estimates the habit of historical accuracy, which is at least as marked as the other qualities; nor can we agree, for example, respecting the speech at Athens that 'it is scarcely possible to imagine the Paul of the epistles taking so academic and philosophic a line.' As a matter of fact, no one insists more strongly than Dr. Gardner on the Hellenic influences of St. Paul's training and teaching, even though Greek philosophy is regarded by him as reaching St. Paul in a transfigured form through the teaching of Jewish rabbis. Moreover, the crucial point of the present volume is the author's treatment of the Hellenic mysteries in their relation to St. Paul's thought: and here we reach a

subject which has assumed considerable importance in modern criticism. In a recent number of the *Hibbert Journal* M. Loisy accepts, though with reservations, Reitzenstein's theory that St. Paul had obviously utilized his knowledge of pagan cults in his view of the Lord's Supper as the Christian mystery *par excellence*. Dr. Gardner, on the other hand, holds that the Christian mystery was not a sacrament, nor the Messiahship of Jesus Christ, nor the inclusion of the Gentiles in the benefits of the Christian salvation. It was 'a sacred but secret belief in the existence of a spiritual bond holding together a society in union with a spiritual lord with whom the society had communion, and from whom they received in the present life safety from sin and defilement, and in the world to come life everlasting.' Thus, the Christianity of St. Paul is impressed by 'the most noteworthy characteristic of the mystic cults of the Hellenic world.' Whatever may be our conclusions on this subject, we cannot but agree as to the value of Dr. Gardner's able and lucid treatment of the evidence at his disposal: and he leaves us in no doubt as to the immense superiority of the Christian cultus over all the symbolisms of the heathen mysteries, which in their attempt to fulfil the vague aspiration for communion between the human and the divine may have prepared the way for faith in Jesus Christ.

Through Evolution to the Living God. By the Rev. J. R. Cohu. (Parker & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a book for thinkers, and they will find it worthy of their most careful attention. The rector of Aston Clinton has had to wrestle hard and long with unbelief. He says it has been the work of years 'to recover a faith which science had shattered, and science itself has helped not a little to lead him through evolution to evolution's God.' The verified facts of science have come to stay, but science no longer objects to the argument from design. Her leaders are becoming more and more teleological. A creative self-directing consciousness is present in all that has life, and this clearly points to a psychic, not a material, First Cause. Mr. Cohu shows how this view of evolution widens, revolutionizes, our ordinary conceptions of the Creation, or the Fall, or the Mystery of Evil, 'and exalts our conception of God's relation to us and of our value in His eyes, almost to the level of Christianity.' We do not share some of the writer's views on evolution, but the work will do much to help earnest and sincere seekers after truth.

Before the Foundations. Anon. (Skeffingtons. 5s. net.)

Intellectual revolt against the domination of physics and chemistry in the sphere of thought is a feature of our day. The insistence of the universal mechanism of scientific law seems to be provoking reaction in the human mind. The synthetic faculties are asserting themselves, and numerous attempts are being made to answer such perennial questions

as: What is the moving cause of the universe? and what is the meaning and destiny of human life? This book is one sign of this note of the times. The author is a layman. He is a devout and thorough student of Scripture from the point of view of the divine purpose, is an 'old-fashioned' theologian, and is also well acquainted with recent studies in astronomy, biology, and philosophy. He accepts without question the geocentric theory of the earth, and assumes that the Bible was intended to solve intellectual difficulties. On such bases he builds up a cosmology which he elaborates in clear and often eloquent English. His main aim is to represent the work of Christ as the pivot of evolution, and related to all orders of spiritual intelligence, for the extirpation of evil. We cannot accept some of his premisses and interpretations, but we can sincerely recommend the book as a calm, cultured, and thrilling example of psycho-theology, which will be read with delight by all who cling to the old methods of thinking in natural philosophy, and with appreciation by every intelligent man into whose hands it may fall.

Christian Ethics and Modern Thought. By C. F. D'Arcy, D.D., Bishop of Down. (Longmans. 1s. net.)

This is a valuable addition to 'The Anglican Church Handbooks.' It shows how Christianity draws into itself all that is good in other ethical systems and fully corresponds to the needs and circumstances of the modern world. The bishop begins with the Kingdom of God as set forth in the Old Testament and in the Gospels; then he comes to the Individual and his infinite value in the teaching of our Lord and of Christian ethics generally. The social aspect of the Christian ideal is well brought out, and there are good chapters on 'Conscience,' on 'Moral Institutions,' and on 'Religion and Ethics.' The book will be of great service to young students.

It was wise of the publishers to reprint, even after a quarter of a century, Dr. Dallinger's Fernley Lecture on *The Creator and what we may know of the Method of Creation*. (C. H. Kelly, 6d. net.) In reading the lecture again we are struck with its applicability to the generation succeeding that to which it was originally delivered. Young men of to-day will find with difficulty a better guide than Dr. Dallinger when they are feeling their way to a satisfactory Theism in the light of current doctrines of evolution. To be able to buy such a treatise, well printed and neatly got up, for sixpence is a great boon. A brief memorial notice brings before the reader in well-chosen words the shy scholar, the brilliant scientist, and the truly Christian minister and man. The booklet deserves to have a second lease of life and to circulate widely among young and old.

The First Christian Century. By Sir W. M. Ramsay. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

In this work a series of articles is included, embodying critical notes on Dr. Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*. The

learning and ability of Dr. Moffatt's book are recognized, but exception is taken to some of his conclusions. It is especially against the attempts at an 'imaginative reconstruction of history' that Sir W. M. Ramsay's criticisms are directed.

***The Feast of the Covenant.* By the Rev. David Smith, D.D.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d.)**

In this daintily bound volume there are ten brief expositions, each of which would furnish suitable reading for young communicants. In simple and chaste language Dr. Smith writes on 'The Blood of the Covenant,' 'The Salt of the Covenant,' 'Terms of Admission to the Feast,' &c.

***Emblems of the Holy Spirit.* By F. E. Marsh. (Morgan & Scott, 3s. 6d. net.)** Such emblems as the dove, the oil, the dew are fully explained with apt illustrations and quotations. There is a great store of matter in this book for teachers to draw upon and for devout meditation. The wealth of the Holy Spirit's grace comes home with new force as we study these pages.

***Christ and Israel* (Morgan & Scott, 3s. 6d. net)** contains ten lectures and addresses on the Jews by the late Adolph Saphir, D.D. It is a book that gets to the heart of the subject and inspires fresh zeal and hope for the gathering in of the race to Christ. Dr. Saphir believes in the return of the Jews to Palestine, and he puts his case very clearly, though we do not find it convincing.

***The Christ Life.* By Rev. A. B. Simpson, D.D. (Morgan & Scott, 1s. 6d. net.)** Six rich devotional chapters on Christ the Life, In Christ, Christ in us, and kindred themes. There is much to help and guide an earnest seeker after Christ.

***Christ Come and Coming.* By W. Griffiths, M.A. (Stock, 2s. 6d. net.)** Mr. Griffith holds that Christ's second coming was at the fall of Jerusalem, and that He then came to stay and to establish His authority and rule in the earth. We do not wonder that a second and enlarged edition of this suggestive book has been called for.

***Jesus Christ has Come.* By I. E. Page. (Kelly, 1s. net.)** These visions of to-day arrest attention and bring home the truth that Christ is ever revealing Himself to loving and obedient hearts. We have read the book with great interest and believe it will be an inspiration to many.

***The Story of my Reincarnation.* By Zivola. (Century Press, 6s.)** This book quite bewilders us. Nothing could be more hopelessly unreal or unpractical.

COMMENTARIES AND SERMONS

The Old Testament in Greek. Edited by A. E. Brooke and Norman McLean. Part III of Vol. I, Numbers and Deuteronomy. (Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.)

THE *Larger Cambridge Septuagint*, with what may fairly be called a full apparatus of various readings, has now advanced to the end of the Pentateuch, and when the next part comes we shall be able to bind up the first volume of this monumental work. We have before expressed our appreciation of the self-denying labours of these excellent scholars, who have been content to bury themselves for a score of years among the minutiae of manuscripts and versions, in order that future centuries of students may have the materials for the textual criticism of the Greek Old Testament. Prof. Swete's three handy volumes, which every reader of the LXX has in ordinary use, give us with admirable accuracy the readings of the uncial MSS. But the cursives and the versions cannot be ignored, and the University Press has undertaken further to provide the apparatus for ascertaining what material lies in the most important authorities of these classes. Messrs. Brooke and McLean have been fortunately able to use the Washington codex of Deuteronomy and Joshua, one of the precious Biblical MSS. which American wealth has recently carried off, an easy victor over the more limited resources of our own British Museum. The New Testament portion is likely to provide some sensations, but Deuteronomy shows much that is interesting; and a fifth century MS. has naturally much importance. It is earnestly to be hoped that the world of Biblical students will support the Cambridge Press in this valuable but unremunerative enterprise, and encourage the self-sacrificing scholars who have toiled so hard for the benefit of our own and future generations.

Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel.

A critical and exegetical commentary by J. M. Powis Smith, Ph.D., W. Hayes Ward, D.D., LL.D., and Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. 6d.)

In the original plan of the *International Critical Commentary*, the Minor Prophets were assigned to the late Dr. William R. Harper. The volume on 'Amos and Hosea' was published during his lifetime, and he was at work upon this volume immediately before his death. His 'friend and associate,' Dr. J. M. Powis Smith, is responsible for the commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, and Nahum, Dr. Hayes Ward has written on Habakkuk, and Dr. Julius A. Bewer on Obadiah and Joel.

The division of labour has, doubtless, resulted in the more speedy publication of this volume, but it has involved some drawbacks. For example, there seems to be no reason why twice as much space should be allotted to Micah, Zephaniah, and Nahum as is given to Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel. The notes on Habakkuk are especially meagre and are almost exclusively critical.

Dr. J. M. Powis Smith contributes admirable introductions which supply all that is needful to fill in the background of each prophecy; his summaries of the messages are of great value. In passages where the Massoretic text needs to be amended, scholarly use is made by all three writers of the Septuagint and other versions. With great skill the metre is marked and often becomes an aid to determining the text. This volume, as a whole, reaches the high level of scholarship set by the earlier commentaries in this series. Every student who reads it carefully will find that welcome light is cast on many obscure passages.

Jeremiah and Lamentations, Vol. II. By A. S. Peake, D.D.
(T. C. & E. C. Jack. 2s. 6d. net.)

Only the commentary on Daniel is needed to complete the 'Century' series of commentaries. One of the many excellences of the series is its evenness of style and ability. Collaborate authorship has become a science in our day. Dr. Peake's Jeremiah is equal to the best of other volumes. Jeremiah and his book have had long to wait for the justice due to them, but it has come at last. While Dr. Peake reproduces the best matter in the works of his predecessors, notably Cornill and Duhm, he does it in an independent way, often differing from the latter especially. His treatment of the new teaching of Chap. XXXI is a good specimen of the entire work; the exposition of the new covenant and the new (it would be called then, advanced) doctrine of individual responsibility is admirable. If the newer criticism is present, it is not conspicuous and it is reasonable. The Book of Lamentations, which is responsible for the traditional opinions about Jeremiah, is said not to be his work. We can only congratulate editors, publishers, and students on the near completion of a memorable work.

The Old Testament: Its Contents, Truth, and Worth. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Beet has here put in compact form the conclusions reached by modern scholarship as to the contents and origin of the Old Testament, with a concise statement as to the reasons for the change of opinion on various questions. He is a master in the art of repetition, and knows how to stamp his facts on the memory. Above all, he has the grace of lucidity. There is no trace of vagueness in the book. The author has made up his own mind and helps his readers to make up theirs. 'The writers of the New Testament agree to accept, with complete confidence, the narratives of the Old Testament as historical fact'; and accept 'as from God words therein attributed to Him.' After describing the various texts Dr. Beet passes

to a special study of the separate books, calling attention to the indications of compilation that may be found in the Pentateuch. Here the student needs to keep his Revised Version at his side to follow every passage. It will be an excellent training for those that work through each chapter in this careful way. The six closing chapters form an impressive study of The Historical Truth of the Old Testament; Its Religious and Moral Teaching; The Old Testament and Modern Science; The Abiding Worth; The Inspiration and Authority of the Old Testament, and The Apocrypha. Dr. Beet is absolutely candid. He has no reserves, and the reader feels as he follows the argument that none is needed. The marvellous vision of the past during which God worked out His purposes of mercy spreads before us as we read, and leads us on to Christ and the great Salvation which He brought to the whole world. Dr. Beet has lavished his labour on this volume, and he has never done a more useful piece of work.

A Short Introduction to the Old Testament. By the Rev. F. E. Spencer, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Spencer has set himself to make use of the fresh and recent labours of applied archaeology to throw light on the Old Testament. His first two chapters give a compact account of some phases of higher criticism, and of the light thrown on the Scriptures by modern research. Then Mr. Spencer turns to the study of the Pentateuch and the prophetic writings. His conclusions are strongly in favour of the conservative school. As to the final ode he says, 'It is exceedingly abhorrent to my sense of the justice due to the honesty which pervades the Hebrew literary tradition to believe that the very definite and solemn attestations which both precede (Deut. xxxi. 18-30) and follow it (xxxiii. 44-47) are the invention of a falsarius.' The book is well written, and is well worthy of study.

The Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. H. G. Grey, M.A. (Scott, 3s. 6d. net.) This volume of *The Readers' Commentary* is just what a Bible student needs. It has a workmanlike Introduction, and its notes are clear and full but also carefully condensed. It is a Commentary for which many readers will be grateful. The Principal of Wycliffe Hall is to be congratulated on such a piece of sound and helpful work.

Galatians has been edited for the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* by A. Lukyn Williams, B.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1s. 6d. net.) He is unable to accept Sir William Ramsay's view that the letter was sent to South Galatia, and states his reasons clearly. The notes on difficult passages are specially helpful. It is a little commentary of much value.

The Way Everlasting. Sermons by James Denney, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

There is a stateliness in Dr. Denney's style which befits the great themes he expounds. There is also a freshness in his treatment of familiar passages which enables his readers to see old truths in a new light. The originality is not so much in the substance of the discourses as in the choice of the

point of view or of the avenue of approach. Amongst the sermons which have made the deepest impression on our mind are those entitled respectively, 'Knowledge, not Mystery, the Basis of Religion,' 'Degrees of Reality in Revelation and Religion,' 'Wrong Roads to the Kingdom,' and 'Walking in the Light.' But the volume as a whole will repay, as it requires, careful reading.

The Enterprise of Life. By the Rev. J. R. P. Selater, M.A.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

This volume contains fifty-two addresses delivered in the New North Church, Edinburgh, to 'audiences composed, for the most part, of those who stand at the beginning of the enterprise.' They are admirably fitted to arrest and hold the attention of thoughtful students. The style is direct and forceful; brief but telling literary allusions open up pleasant vistas for the mind. Mr. Selater's book deserves, for its freshness and insight into truth and life, a place of honour amongst the sermon literature of the year.

The Mysteries of Grace. By the Rev. John Thomas, M.A.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

This volume of sermons is an evidence that the great themes of the gospel have lost naught of their attractive power. Nearly half of the subjects are christological, from 'The Glory of the Incarnation' to 'The Ascended Lord.' The remaining sermons deal with various phases of Christian experience and doctrine, as e.g. 'The Indwelling Christ,' 'The Function of Prayer,' and 'The Resurrection Body of the Believer.' Each discourse is broad based upon the teaching of Scripture; the preacher often glances at modern thought, but his chief aim is to give a positive statement of evangelical truth.

The Sermon on the Mount and Practical Politics. By A. E. Fletcher. (Griffiths. 2s. 6d. net.)

The former editor of the *Daily Chronicle* dedicates this book to the memory of his son, a promising journalist who died at the age of twenty-four. He shows how the principles of the Sermon on the Mount would transform the world, and urges that all should work 'in the direction of their realization, and thus make the present better for ourselves than the past was for our fathers, the future brighter for our children than the present can be for us.' Mr. Fletcher is a Socialist who does not believe in taking interest and is distressed by our naval and military expenditure. There is much disputable matter in the book, but it is the work of a man really in earnest, and it is well worth reading despite its extreme views. Mr. Fletcher denounces Archbishop Magee's dictum about the Sermon on the Mount, but he admits himself that our Lord 'often spoke in the language of hyperbole.'

Death and the Hereafter. Sermons preached by Harry Drew, Rector of Hawarden, 1904-1910. (H. Frowde. 2s. 6d. net.)

These sermons have been edited by Mr. Joyce, the Warden of St. Deiniol's Library, who pays a loving tribute to Mr. Drew's 'singularly winning and attractive personality.' The sermons come from a heart ruled by the love of God, and they get straight home by their reality and simple earnestness. The daily formation of character is well brought out in the sermon on 'The Valley of Decision,' and the four sermons on Death are the counsels of one who saw the happy side of that release from care and sorrow, and was himself living in readiness for the boundless life beyond. The story of Augustine forms the subject for a useful and instructive discourse. But the chief interest lies in the three memorial sermons for Archbishop Benson and Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. Mr. Drew allowed his congregation to profit by his intimate relations with the great statesman. 'He did not parade his religion. But he never concealed it. He never used conventional phrases about sacred subjects nor unnecessarily dragged religion into ordinary talk. But it was always there. He never forgot it, and if he were challenged, out it all came in a moment.' English men and women will greatly prize these beautiful tributes to Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone.

The Sacrament of Repentance. By the Ven. James H. F. Peile. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Archdeacon of Warwick seeks 'to set forth the Christian Life, with all its activities of worship and service, as being the outward and visible sign of an inward change of heart, and of the entire surrender of the human will to Divine Love and Wisdom.' He feels that the sense of sin and the need for repentance would, if widely and deeply felt, lead on to the right solution of many of our moral and social problems. The fifty-first Psalm is expounded as the Psalm of Repentance. The first act of turning to God is to be followed by 'daily repentance, the putting away of those little sins which are not unimportant, but yet spring rather from weakness than wilfulness,' then outward act is to become the expression of the spiritual life, testing and approving its reality. It is a beautiful little devotional companion for Lent.

The Road. A Study of John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress.' By John Kelman, D.D. (Olipant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 8s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Kelman is an enthusiastic student of Bunyan, and this volume of studies leads us from the beginning of the pilgrimage on to Vanity Fair. Another volume will finish the Commentary, and a third will be given to various bibliographical and literary subjects connected with Bunyan and his work. Dr. Kelman throws much light on the chief stages of the *Progress* by references to prose and poetry, and sends us back to Bunyan with fresh zest. The Wicket Gate is said to have been suggested by the old church door at Elstow, and of this a beautiful photograph is given.

There are other excellent illustrations, and the studies have a charm of their own which makes them delightful to read and think about.

Thoughts at Sunrise, being Some Meditations on Morning Mysteries. By Edward J. Brailsford. (Kelly, 1s. 6d. net.) These Meditations are steeped in morning dew and lit up with morning sunshine. They deal with character and conduct, and set the reader thinking about the high things of life. Mr. Brailsford sees how much a due observance of the great Christian festivals might do to disperse the weariness and disappointment that one traces on the faces of many who use them as mere holidays. He pleads for the self-denial which makes time for early communion with Nature and for morning prayer. He talks to us about morning praise and God's angels who rouse us from slumber at great moments in our personal experience. All is so fresh and so stimulating that we can scarcely think of any clouds that such a message will not scatter. The book can be slipped into a little pocket, and it will brighten life for every one who gets into its company.

Dr. Hastings' two new volumes on *The Great Texts of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark, 10s. per vol., subscription price 6s. net) are Deuteronomy and Esther, and Romans (completion). There is everything here to help a preacher. He is guided to books that bear on his special subject, and will find a wealth of expository matters and illustrations from history and poetry that will enrich his own sermons. There is nothing stereotyped or formal, but fresh and stimulating passages that he can use at his discretion. Its appeal is chiefly to the preacher, but the work has great attractions also for the devotional reader of the Bible.

Life's Christ Places. By Joseph Agnew. (T. & T. Clark, 8s. 6d. net.) The successive scenes in Christ's life are felicitously described and the lessons which they teach for the lives of His disciples are well brought out. Mr. Agnew reverently acknowledges the transcendent uniqueness of our Lord, but he sees that in many ways 'the Christ and His own are one,' and he uses this to light up the Christian's pathway. It is a fresh and suggestive book.

The Cambridge Press send us *The Holy Bible, Revised Version*, now for the first time divided into verses, with marks to indicate the reviser's paragraphs. It is a 16mo volume, Brevier type, and measures 7 x 5 inches. The prices are 2s. 6d. net in cloth, 4s. net in French, limp, round covers, red under gilt edges. It makes a very handy and attractive volume.

Christ's Message of the Kingdom (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 6d. net) is a fifteen weeks' course of daily study for private students and Bible circles. It is a novel plan, and it is worked out in a way that gives new meaning to our Lord's teaching. We can strongly recommend the book.

A Course of Meditations for Holy Week. (S.P.C.K.) These meditations were found among Bishop King's pamphlets, and were probably notes taken down from Dr. Liddon's addresses. They are brief aids to devotion for which many will be grateful.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Enlarged from original MSS., with notes from unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps and Illustrations. Edited by Nehemiah Curnock, assisted by Experts. Vol. III. (C. H. Kelly. 10s. 6d. net.)

EACH volume as it appears deepens the impression that this is fitly named the 'Standard Edition' of *Wesley's Journal*. It has already thrown a flood of light on his early life, and has shown him more human and more full of all kindly sensibilities than most Englishmen had dreamed. In this part of his *Journal* he enters on his wider parish by the memorable visit to the north of England in 1742. By the aid of two illustrations the scene of his churchyard services at Epworth is brought before us, and we seem to catch the spirit of that memorable week's mission. Mr. Curnock says, 'In the present volume Wesley appears as preacher, writer, controversialist, educator. He preaches, often every day of the week, morning, noon and night, wherever a crowd can gather or his voice can be heard. His printers are never idle, nor are his literary foes.' He is now fully launched on his work as the Evangelist of England, and his *Journal* begins to be 'the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned by man.' A quotation is given from the fine chapter on 'The Age of Walpole and the Pelhams' in *The Cambridge Modern History*. Mr. Temperly's verdict as to the 'universality of influence and range of achievement' of Wesley and 'the religious revival to which he gave his name and his life' does not appear exaggerated as we study this volume. Among its outstanding incidents are the 'passing' of Wesley's mother shortly after her son's visit to Epworth, which was the harvest of her own and her husband's painful and protracted seed-time. The pitiful story of the wreck of Wesley's hopes as to a marriage with Grace Murray is here also. Three full-page facsimiles of the record from the British Museum MS. and a very full note put the whole matter in its true setting and significance. Another note of peculiar interest describes Wesley's marriage to Mrs. Vazeille. Good use is here made of Charles Wesley's *Journal*. The notes to this volume are of necessity briefer than those in Volumes I and II, but they supply not only the information that an intelligent reader asks for, but indicate sources to which a student can turn for ampler detail. The printing and get-up of the work leave nothing to desire. The type is clear and stands out well on the rough paper; the volume is light and easy to handle though it contains 550 pages. The illustrations are a real commentary to the text. Besides those mentioned we are shown the scenes of the most memorable events of the period; and can study lists of 'Bands' and 'Penitents' in the London Society in 1745. Two pages of a letter to Wesley from Miss

Anne Granville, Mrs. Delany's sister, are given, with other matters of special interest. The 'Standard Edition' is now half finished, and it is evident that every public library will need to place it on its shelves. It will be a source of growing delight to every one who can secure a copy for himself, and he will understand what Edward FitzGerald meant when he spoke of the *Journal* as 'one of the most interesting books in the language; well worth reading and having, not only as an outline of Wesley's own singular character, but of the conditions of England, Ireland and Scotland in the eighteenth century.'

A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in Christendom and beyond. With historical tables. By William A. Curtis, D.Lit. (T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d. net.)

Prof. Curtis wrote the article on 'Confession' in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and has now expanded it into this volume of more than 500 pages. The book is in itself an encyclopaedia of all the creeds and confessions, prefaced by a chapter on creeds and confessions in general. They imply that the period of ignorance and doubt is passed, and that conviction has at last been reached. 'Every religion, however crude or primitive, has enshrined a creed, and in some fashion has given voice to a confession of the faith by which it lived.' The earliest confessions were avowals of faith in a Person. This leads Prof. Curtis to his survey first beyond the pale of Judaism and Christianity, then in Hebrew religion, in the New Testament and in the successive ages of Christendom. A general account of more than a hundred and fifty confessional documents is given. In the closing chapters the significance and rationale of creeds and confessions are discussed, with the problems presented by their retention and revision, and the ethics of subscription. Dr. Curtis's closing pages discuss the ideal Creed, which would rally our shattered ranks and heal the hurt of Christ's Church. His heart goes out increasingly to the forms of the New Testament and to the simplicities of the Apostolic Age, where the Christian spirit still finds its greenest pastures and its stillest waters. Grave as are some of the points of difference between the churches, it will be difficult to refuse admission to the kingdom of heaven to any who can unreservedly profess 'Thou art the Christ, Son of the Living God,' or 'Thou knowest that I love Thee.' The book claims a place in every preacher's library, and will be studied with growing interest and appreciation.

Primitive Christianity: its Writings and Teachings in their Historical Connexions. By Otto Pfeiderer, D.D. Vol. IV. (Williams & Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.)

With the publication of this volume Dr. Pfeiderer's important work is completed. It deals with 'Doctrinal and Hortatory Writings of the Church,' including the Johannine writings, Catholic writings, and early Apologetic writings. Dr. Pfeiderer holds that the historical background of the Fourth Gospel is 'constructed, not so much from reminiscences of the life of Jesus, as from experiences in the life of the second century.' But, in

our judgement, the historicity of some of the narratives is arbitrarily denied ; it is a prejudice against the miraculous that leads to the assumption of allegorizing. There is, however, much instruction to be gained from the investigations of this able critic, if his bias against the supernatural be taken into account. The literature of the post-Apostolic age has been studied at first-hand, and on many questions Dr. Pfeiderer casts light. For example, the attitudes of the Apologists to ethnic religions and to Judaism is described at length. The conclusion reached is that 'the Christian Church had a positive absolute end in life, such as was foreign to the whole of the ancient world.' The 'optimistic idealism' of the early Christians is fully appreciated, but its impulse and energy are accounted for by 'its faith in God the Father and love to the brethren,' without any mention of the constraining power of the love of Christ.

Evangelical Christianity : Its History and Witness. Edited by W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

These lectures were delivered at Mansfield College, and many will find guidance and help from them in their study of church organization. Dr. Bartlet's Introductory Lecture on 'The Protestant Idea of Church and Ministry as rooted in Early Christianity' begins with Christ's teaching in Matt. xvi. New Testament ministry was at first charismatic, but in time prophetic or inspired spontaneity tended to play a smaller part in ordinary Church worship. His review leads to the conclusion that the traditional claim put forward for 'the historic episcopate' is truly astounding in the presence of like powers flowing through the workers of other communions. Dr. A. J. Carlyle states the case for the Church of England from the Evangelical side. He thinks the revived and growing sense of the supreme significance of the religious experience in the human soul 'will bring Christian men in this country together, as indeed it is doing already.' To him the Methodist and Evangelical revival 'marks the beginnings of a movement whose greater effects we are only just beginning to see.' Dr. Oman's lecture on 'the Presbyterian Churches' will repay careful reading, and Dr. Powicke puts the view of 'The Congregational Churches' forcibly. He says 'Methodism more than once has restored their soul, kindled afresh their sense of a living spirit, brought them back to faith in the inner witness of experience.' Dr. N. H. Marshall holds that 'the centre of gravity of the Baptists' conception of the gospel and the Church was not, and is not, baptism, but conversion.' After their age of persecution the Baptist Churches were in danger of heresy, but 'won through this time of testing with the help of that great spiritual revival associated with the Wesleys. No sooner had this quickening swept through the land than the Baptists saw in a new blaze of glory their own peculiar faith.' They recognized the duty of the Church to carry the gospel to all the world and became 'the pioneers in this missionary movement.' We think here, also, they owed much to Methodism, and especially to Dr. Coke's example. Mr. Grubb's account of 'The Society of Friends' is admirable. It is critical as well as historical. The lamentable shrinkage of the Society from the

opening of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century he attributes to the almost entire failure to recognize the necessity of religious teaching. We should add the neglect of the Bible and the notion of birth-right membership. Prof. Peake's lecture on 'The Methodist Churches' is very clear and useful. He has enjoyed the expert counsel of Dr. Simon, and writes with much fairness as to the movements which gave rise to the Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian Churches. The lecture may be strongly commended to members of other Churches who wish to have a compact view of Methodist doctrine and discipline. That is the special value of this book. The various Evangelical Churches may see each other as they are seen by their own adherents, and many a prejudice and misunderstanding will vanish through a candid perusal of these pages.

The Abbot's House at Westminster. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Wells. (Cambridge University Press. 5s. net.)

This is the fourth of the 'Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey.' No English monastery has retained so much of its ancient buildings intact. When the monks left, the Refectory and the Infirmary Chapel were stripped of their lead and were soon cleared away, the kitchen and Misericorde survived only a little longer. Almost everything else lent itself to practical uses. The Dean had set himself to show how the monastic buildings lay, and has drawn a plan for which future investigators will owe him special thanks. The Abbot's House has largely escaped the ravages of time, and the documents here transcribed not only help us to see the builders and their work, but bring the story down to the days of Dean Atterbury and Dean Wilcocks. Abbot Litlington, who died in 1886, built anew from the foundations the whole of the Abbot's place next the church, the western and southern sides of the cloister and other buildings. His stately mansion seems to have remained unaltered for the next century. John Islip, abbot from 1500 to 1582, built a set of chambers two stories high on the north side of the churchyard. These operations are traced in the illustrative documents and notes. Richard II asks some unnamed correspondent to give the Abbot six oaks from his wood for the beams of the new hall. The Abbot had his private chapel, which was probably an upper chamber between the south-west tower and the first buttress of the nave, with a wooden oriel looking into the church. An immense amount of research is represented by this volume, for which every student will feel himself under a new debt to Dean Robinson.

The Seymour Family. History and Romance. By A. Audrey Locke. (Constable & Co. 6s. net.)

The Cavendish Family. By Francis Bickley. (Constable & Co. 6s. net.)

These are volumes that light up both the highways and byways of English history. They are well illustrated. From the first Queen Jane Seymour

looks down upon us in her stately dress, while the second has portraits of the famous Whig Queen, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and Spencer Compton, the late Duke. Both books are brightly written, full of domestic and social details which throw light on the life of the last five centuries. These men and women played leading parts in English history, and we seem to get into more intimate touch with events as we turn the pages which describe their loves and ambitions. The story of Jane Seymour is not altogether pleasant. The birth of her son anchored the affection of Henry, though there were ominous signs that they had begun to rove before that auspicious event. The later history is of special interest in connexion with Hertford House and the famous Wallace Collection. The Cavendish family owed much to its marriages. Bess of Hardwick makes a profound impression on a reader of these pages. 'She had the virtue, commoner in her day than in ours, of knowing what she wanted; and she had the skill to get it. Beautiful and witty as she undoubtedly was, she must have lacked many graces; but she was a great financier and a great general, and the foundress of a great house.' A nobler woman was Christian Bruce, who married Bess of Hardwick's second son and skilfully nursed the fortunes of the house when she was left a widow at the age of thirty. The judges of England decided many a suit in her favour and called her 'a mirror of a woman.' Georgiana and her memorable victory for Fox in the Westminster election is one of the striking figures of her century, and Mr. Bickley makes the whole exciting contest live again. The men of the house are not less skilfully painted, down to the seventh and eighth dukes. In these chapters we pick up many links in political history that have dropped out of sight, and understand how much England owes to men who served her with such fearless and enlightened patriotism. We can promise all who read these books no small delight, and a sensible increase of knowledge as to our political and social history.

Tennyson and his Friends. Edited by Hallam, Lord Tennyson. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. net.)

This is a volume that lovers of Tennyson will be eager to set by the side of the *Memoir*. Some of it is already familiar to students. Dr. John Brown's sketch of Arthur Henry Hallam is reprinted from his *Horae Subsecivae*, other papers have appeared in books and reviews, but it is a pleasure to find these scattered treasures gathered together into a single volume. It is a book of memories. The poet seems to be enshrined in it through the loving enthusiasm of friends and worshippers, young and old. We see what they thought of him and his poetry; we are admitted into a happy intimacy which increases our respect and affection for the fine old poet. Nothing could be more delightful than Mr. Arthur Coleridge's 'Fragmentary Notes of Tennyson's Talk.' The poet told him of an American curate who felt constrained to read 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' one Sunday instead of his sermon. An old Balacava man was in the congregation and was thus led to give up a bad, reckless life. It was

a complete reformation. Tennyson said, 'My poem was never meant to convey any spiritual lesson, but the very curious fact of the chance soldier and the parson's sudden resolution has often set me thinking.' Mr. Wood's sketch of Tennyson's friendship with her father, Dean Bradley, is very beautiful, and so is Mrs. Louisa E. Ward's account of the long intimacy between the poet and her father, Sir John Simeon. Mr. Wilfred Ward writes about the strange attachment between the Laureate and W. G. Ward, who was 'almost barbarously indifferent to poetry.' The Master of Trinity and Mrs. Butler were Tennyson enthusiasts, and their Recollections show him both as man and scholar in a very attractive light. The tutor of the Tennyson boys, Mr. H. G. Dakyns, allows us to see how charming the master was in his own home, and Sir James Knowles tells the story of the building of Aldworth and the way that he waked his guest to watch the sun rise. Bishop Boyd-Carpenter touches on religious questions. Tennyson said to him: 'It is hard to believe in God; but it is harder not to believe. I believe in God, not from what I see in Nature, but from what I find in Man.' Tennyson's poems on his friends are included in the volume. It is no small stroke of good fortune which adds such treasure to the Tennyson poetry and the great *Memoir*.

Albrecht Dürer: His Life and a selection of his Works, with explanatory comments. By Dr. Friedrich Nüchter. Translated from the German by Lucy D. Williams. With fifty-three plates and one coloured print. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

Sir Martin Conway says in his Introduction that Dürer 'comes down to us in the intellectual company of such artists as Leonardo da Vinci—men of great minds, great intelligences, men interested in all the world and all the forces active therein.' He made a deep impression on those with whom he came in contact, and had a passionate curiosity which led him to study everything about him. Dr. Nüchter gives some interesting passages from Dürer's diary which describe his parents and his travels over Italy and Germany. His mother brought up her eighteen children with great care. Her chief anxiety was lest her boys should run into sin, and as Albrecht went in or out her saying always was, 'Go in the name of Christ.' The artist's training is described in a very pleasant way, and Dr. Nüchter's comments on the works add much to the zest with which one studies them. The artist told Melanchthon that pictures just finished satisfied him, but when he came to look at them afterwards he felt ashamed. Those on which he had bestowed the greatest care displeased him so much at the end of three years that he could scarcely look at them without great pain. His Passion pictures show how deeply the crucifixion of Jesus stirred his heart. He 'always considered the portrayal of the Saviour the noblest subject which could engage the painter's art.' The reproductions in this volume are of singular beauty, and the work will be opened with constant delight by every lover of this devout and nobly-gifted artist.

Notes on the Art of Rembrandt. By C. J. Holmes, M.A.
With forty-five plates. (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d. net.)

The Director of the National Portrait Gallery chose Rembrandt as the subject for his Slade Lectures at Oxford, and a study of the superb prints in the British Museum seemed to reveal to him the development of the master's powers from youth to old age. Rembrandt at an early age parted company with the traditions of the Dutch painters, and began that process of self-training which led to his assured mastery of his art. Almost all of his etchings, which Mr. Holmes particularly admires, were executed after Rembrandt's forty-fifth year. He was a student to the end of his life. 'The Night Watch' was his undoing. That masterpiece, with its figures surrounded by shadows, displeased both sitters and critics, and contributed to the ruin and bankruptcy of a few years later. 'So long as he conformed outwardly to the pictorial fashion of Holland he had been esteemed as one of the greatest of Dutch artists; no sooner did he rebel against it than he fell instantly from favour, and was relegated to an obscurity from which only the reputation he gained elsewhere in the course of two hundred and fifty years has slowly redeemed him.' Rembrandt sacrificed the customary adornments to reveal the soul. His art is concerned with the deeper traits of human character. Mr. Holmes thinks that, had he never lived, 'the association of God with toil-stained, inglorious man would have lost the single interpreter whom our age of reason does not in its heart disavow.' The way in which he built up his knowledge of the human figure and the mastery of design makes an illuminating study, not merely for artists, but for all lovers of art. The comparison between Rembrandt and Van Dyck, the great society painter of his time, and Titian the supreme colourist, is masterly. Rembrandt as a chiaroscuroist has no rival, but Mr. Holmes thinks that the world of colour 'has already yielded such random jewels of delight as to make us feel that it may be there at the last that the art of mankind will unearth its crowning treasure.' We strongly advise every lover of pictures to read this fascinating volume.

The Life of George Borrow. By Herbert Jenkins. (John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Knapp had not access to Borrow's correspondence with the Bible Society when he wrote his valuable biography, but he stirred up the authorities to make the prolonged search which led to the discovery of the famous letters. Mr. Jenkins has been able to avail himself of this material, and has produced a biography which every Borrowian will hail with delight. There is not a dull paragraph in it, and we are grateful for the fine photogravure portrait of Borrow and twelve other illustrations. It is a wonderful story. Borrow's youth gave little promise of such service as he was to render to the Bible Society. He was long in finding his sphere, and his oft-repeated threat of suicide showed how bitter his experiences were. The seven years, 1825-32, are the 'Veiled Period' of Borrow's life, and he was always singularly reticent as to this time of mystery and misfortune. Mr.

Jenkins is able to gather some vague notion of his wanderings from a hint here and there, but the veil scarcely lifts. It was Francis Cunningham, vicar of Lowestoft and husband of Richenda Gurney, who introduced Borrow to the Bible Society 'as one who has read the Bible in thirteen languages.' He was delighted with the result, and some years later described Borrow at local Bible meetings 'as one of the most extraordinary and interesting individuals of the present day.' Borrow showed himself very amenable to guidance from head quarters, and did notable service to the Society in Russia, and still more in Spain. We now know that *The Bible in Spain* is a true record of a wonderful mission. Borrow thought of seeking ordination, and showed much zeal in his propaganda. Unfortunately he did not approve of the impetuous methods of Lieutenant Graydon of the Royal Navy, a volunteer worker in Spain, who had been associated with Dr. Rule at Gibraltar in 1835. Graydon was regarded at Earl Street as 'the ideal reformer, rushing precipitately towards martyrdom, exposing Anti-Christ as he ran.' Borrow, on the contrary, did not hesitate to describe him as the evil genius of the Society's cause in Spain. This inevitably led to some misunderstanding between Borrow and the Bible House, and his career as its agent now came to a close. His marriage with Mrs. Clarke gave him a happy home, and his *Bible in Spain* had extraordinary success. Mr. Jenkins does not fail to bring out the eccentricities of the man. His unpardonable rudeness made him enemies by the dozen, but there was a sweet side to his nature, and he was greatly beloved by his own fireside and among his friends. In this biography the whole man is revealed, and the picture is one of the most arresting in the portrait-gallery of the nineteenth century. On p. 469 Fen Ponds should be Pen Ponds.

Letters of George Borrow to the British and Foreign Bible Society. Edited by T. H. Darlow. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net.)

These letters could not be found when Dr. Knapp was preparing his *Life* of Borrow, but a later search by the Rev. Gordon Watt led to their discovery in the crypt of the Bible House. Mr. Watt began to edit them, and after his death Mr. Darlow was asked by the Bible Society to finish the work. He has done it in a way to earn the gratitude of all who are interested in the most astonishing correspondent that any Missionary Society ever possessed. About one-third of this volume was utilized by Borrow in preparing his *Bible in Spain*. His letters were lent him by the Society for that purpose, and perhaps 'no other publication has done so much to make the Bible Society known among multitudes of persons who have no particular sympathy with its object.' *The Bible in Spain* has been regarded by some critics as a piece of picturesque imagination, but its truth to life is made abundantly clear by these letters and reports. We see also what a capable man of business Borrow was, and how much his heart was in his mission. The letters describe his work in St. Petersburg, and his wanderings through the Peninsula, where he was thrown into prison and had many stirring adventures. He was absolutely fearless, and expressed

his willingness 'to visit every part of Spain, and to risk my life a thousand times in laying God's Word before the people.' The relations between the Society and its famous agent do honour to both, and this book will be a lasting memorial of a notable mission. There are some thrilling incidents in the letters, and the facsimile letter shows how clearly he wrote. Mr. Darlow has printed the documents *in extenso*, and supplied valuable notes.

Off the Beaten Track in Sussex. Sketches Literary and Artistic. By Arthur Stanley Cooke. With 160 illustrations by Sussex artists. (Hove: Combridge. 7s. 6d. net.)

Sussex is one of the most attractive counties in England, with bolder scenery than Kent or even Surrey, and with the glorious downs which are its peculiar heritage. Mr. Cooke leads us into many quiet corners and helps us to feel their charm. He has much to say of Bosham, where artists are tempted to linger for months, and those with antiquarian tastes delight to study the church, which is almost an epitome of English history. Saxon 'long and short work' may be seen in the tower arch, and the Saxon walls are pierced with handsome early English arches. There are six piscinae, and the font is a fine example of late Norman. Mr. Cooke does justice to the Roman Villa at Bignor, which covered 650 feet by 350. In some half-dozen of its rooms coloured mosaic pavements were found, more or less complete. There is little doubt that this was the residence of the proprietor. Open fireplaces and hearths are found here in addition to the classic hypocaust and furnace. Mr. Cooke keeps to the rural scenes, and describes a charming ramble over the Downs from Brighton to Lewes, with a glimpse of the Saxon church at Ovingdean. The illustrations are beautifully executed, and well chosen to bring out picturesque scenes of the county. The bridges and churches are specially well done, and there are a few windmills that attract us. The book is arranged in two parts, giving the routes west and east of Brighton. There is not much that misses Mr. Cooke's notice, and he tells his story with an easy mastery of his resources which makes this a very pleasant volume for a leisure hour. Every lover of rural England will be grateful for such a guide.

Chambers's Biographical Dictionary. The Great of all Times and Nations. Edited by David Patrick, LL.D. and F. H. Groome. (W. & R. Chambers. 10s. 6d.)

More than ten thousand brief biographies are packed into this volume. It contains as much matter as three volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and gives useful references to books where fuller information may be found. One useful feature is the pronunciation of difficult names. The living as well as the dead are included, and the work is a marvel of condensation and of exact information. The column on John Wesley is admirable. The brief biographies of Edward VII and George V are well done. The Index of Pseudonyms will be of great service. This is certainly a Dictionary that every one ought to have in constant use.

GENERAL

A Critical Exposition of Bergson's Philosophy. By J. M'Kellar Stewart, Ph.D. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

THE interest in Bergson just now has already prompted one critical exposition of his philosophy in English, and Dr. Stewart here furnishes another. We think he was well advised to do so, and doubt whether a student could find a better guide in an attempt to place and estimate the French philosopher of the hour than the volume before us. Bergson is, of course, his own best interpreter. All French writers are lucid, he is pellucid and brilliant into the bargain. But the very qualities which make Bergson's treatises pleasant to read, especially his power of eloquent illustration, may prevent a reader from being quite sure of his exact philosophical position, and many who have understood the outlines of his doctrine will be unable to mark his place in the history of philosophy.

Dr. M'Kellar Stewart, as a friendly critic, helps in both these directions. In an introduction he describes what Bergson's 'intuitive method' means, and how it stands related to other methods of inquiry. The body of the book is divided into two parts, expository and critical, the former dealing with the intuition of 'pure duration in the life of the self,' and of the 'Cosmical *Élan*,' the latter pointing out what the writer considers to be the assumptions, or confusions, or limitations of Bergson's views in detail. The volume closes with a useful 'Estimate of the Value of the Intuitive Method.'

There can be no doubt, we think, as to the timeliness and stimulative effect of Bergson's teaching. He expresses the spirit of his age in the protest he makes against a mechanical, or an abstractly intellectual, explanation of reality. His 'Vitalism' or 'Activism' does good service in reminding us that 'conceptions' do not adequately represent, or account for, life. He shows clearly enough how physico-chemical knowledge of life needs to be supplemented by 'a second kind of knowledge which would retain what physics allow to escape,' how necessary it is to 'transport oneself by an effort of sympathy to the interior of that which becomes,' in order to follow the flux of existence in its movement, and to understand the life of the spirit.

But he does not make clear the nature of the intuitions thus gained by 'sympathy,' and especially their relation to the intelligence. The difference would seem, according to Bergson, to be one, not of degree, but of kind, and this involves an inexplicable dualism. Dr. M'Kellar Stewart puts his finger very acutely upon this and one or two other weak points of the Bergsonian philosophy. He gives also, as we think, a fairer account of Bergson's relation to teleology than Mr. Balfour did in a recent criticism. It is not purpose as such that Bergson would exclude from evolution, but the teleological element, as of a scheme cut and dried, mere mechanism inverted.

It is impossible, however, in a brief notice to discuss deep questions of this kind. Our task is the pleasant one of saying that we have found Dr. Stewart's *Critical Exposition* to answer well to its title, both the exposition and criticism being clear, sound and well-sustained. The book is just what the average student of Bergson desiderates.

Charles Darwin and Other English Thinkers. By S. Parkes Cadman, D.D. (New York: The Pilgrim Press. \$1.25 net.)

Dr. Cadman of Brooklyn is known and appreciated in this country as an eloquent preacher and a very successful American pastor. He was trained in English and American Methodism, and now has one of the largest and most influential Congregational churches in the United States. As far as we know, he has not hitherto published his sermons or addresses, but a hearty welcome will be given to the series of lectures here issued, originally delivered in Brooklyn before the Institute of Arts and Sciences in 1910. There are seven lectures in all, dealing with five leading thinkers of the nineteenth century—Darwin, Huxley, Mill, Martineau and M. Arnold. The latter two engage the author's attention more deeply, and to each of them two lectures are allowed, but the space given in every case is well used, and a fairly proportioned picture drawn upon the size of canvas employed.

The main object of the lecturer we take to have been to present a sympathetic exposition of the thoughts of leading writers in science and literature, in order to make a bridge between them and believers in evangelical Christianity. Beyond all question, Darwin and Huxley and Mill, M. Arnold and Martineau, have deeply influenced the thought of the later nineteenth and opening twentieth centuries. How are their leading ideas related to the fundamental views of the world and life which characterize intelligent Christianity to-day? Is there an unbridgeable gulf between them? Dr. Cadman, as a student of literature as well as a Christian pastor, holds that there is not, and his lectures show the harmony underlying some important obvious differences.

This main object is not, however, obtruded upon the reader. Dr. Cadman speaks as an interpreter of certain leading English thinkers, and he is not in the first instance didactic. But he expounds his themes with so much intelligent sympathy that hearers and readers are likely to carry away the general impression above described. The lectures themselves are excellent. Clear in style, strong in grasp, kindly in spirit, they present in brief compass the leading characteristics of the eminent men portrayed. Readers will not expect a minute examination into Darwin's exact position in the history of evolutionary theory, or a discussion of the precise doctrinal significance of Martineau's theism, but they will find what is for most readers much more useful, a clear, genial, trustworthy description of the man and his position in the world of thought. When the lectures were delivered, they must have been very interesting to listen to, but the style is so well sustained that it makes the book pleasant also to read.

Dr. Cadman wisely eschews the 'purple patches' sometimes supposed to be characteristic of American orators, but if eloquence consists in saying good things well, so as to make people listen, he thoroughly deserves the high reputation for eloquence which he has gained on both sides of the water.

The Future of England. By the Hon. George Peel.
(Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

Mr. Peel has set himself to give an account of the inward forces determining the future of England, and to indicate the result. He thinks that the greatness of this country cannot be ascribed to her wealth, her religion or her armaments, but is due to her organization of modern freedom and modern industry. 'She claimed for the individual such security against his kindred, man, and such power over his parent, Nature, as he had never yet known.' After two stimulating chapters on the Rise and the Principles of England, Mr. Peel discusses 'The Present Issue.' Our industrial system, apart from certain curable weaknesses, he holds to be capable of satisfying the people. With certain amendments it will reach the highest excellence, and have a long and goodly future. That is certainly a hopeful note to strike amid our labour conflicts, and it seems to be justified. Mr. Peel then proceeds to consider our industrial, domestic, international and Oriental future. In the industrial world our most practical men are busy creating a structure of mutual understanding, of conciliation, of arbitration, and of industrial practice wherein we shall one day excel the world. Success here will liberate 'a commercial energy calculated to confound our rivals and to amaze the world.' The most urgent domestic problem we have to face is the weakness of the family, but here also the nation is bestirring itself and better days are at hand. As to the international future, England cannot hold aloof from Europe. We are trying to lay the foundations of a true federation of Christendom, and 'providing oversea conduits and safety-valves for the superheated passions of the Occident; large spaces, too, where the ichor of Western animosities may evaporate under a torrid sun.' If Europe clings to force as a beatitude, 'England will turn away for ever to those young nations of hers that are becoming ancient, and to those old nations of the East that are becoming young.' 'Our Oriental future' is discussed in a way that will appeal to every student of missions. Up to 1891 our Government treated Christianity worse than they treated the vilest of creeds. Mr. Peel thinks that 'at no date within the range of present consideration, will Christianity win India as a whole.' That strikes us as a somewhat gloomy conclusion, but Mr. Peel holds that India must be led to co-operate with England and to 'ascend into the higher plains of imperial statesmanship, and into the healthful air of freedom, where she and ourselves can grow great together in a never-ending partnership.'

Three great evils darken and oppress civilization. Labour is at odds with life, national animosities disgrace Christendom, and there is a wide estrangement between the white, the black, the brown and the yellow

racess. The Future of England is really to lead the world in combating and conquering these evils, which must be remedied if society is not to go down before them. This is a stimulating and encouraging book.

Problems of Boy Life. Edited by J. H. Whitehouse, M.P.
(King & Son. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Percival dwells, in a brief Introduction to this volume, on the way in which the public conscience has been stirred to the dangers involved in the overcrowded and squalid life of the working multitudes in our great cities. Nothing needs more attention than boy labour. 'Blind-alley occupations' have no educative influence, and the boy leaves them on the threshold of manhood worse off than on the day he left school. 'He is physically, morally and mentally, at a lower level. He has lost the little learning that he had. He has been subject to no discipline. He is thrown on the industrial scrap-heap deteriorated in every way. The problem is here discussed by those who have been brought into close touch with working lads. More than 200,000 boys pass out of the Elementary Schools every year, and Mr. Gibb gives many significant details as to the employments on which they enter. Reform is to be sought by cutting off the easy supply of boys ready to engage upon any casual work. The programme of the Elementary School is criticized as too ambitious and too wide. It needs to be brought into close touch with practical life. The boys should be kept at school till they are fourteen, and their first steps into the working world should be guided and controlled. Their work in factories is carefully surveyed, and some valuable reforms are indicated. There are chapters on The Boy Criminal, The Station Lounger, Street Trading by Children, lessons are drawn from Dr. Kerschensteiner's work at Munich as Director of Education, and many other aspects of the problem are discussed with knowledge and sympathy. Each chapter is full of suggestion. Mr. Paton's 'Cross-Fertilization in Schools' is a warning against in-breeding, and a plea for that larger outlook which comes from intermixture of different social classes. The book is timely, and no one can fail to be impressed by the facts here brought out. It ought to bear good fruit in many ways.

In Patria. An Exposition of Dante's Paradiso. By John S. Carroll, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

By the completion of this book Dr. Carroll has put the top-stone on a really great achievement. It has cost him many years of loving and patient study, but the result is a work of real distinction and power. It is full of illumination and delight. By it he has ranged himself among the foremost Dantists of our time, he has made a permanent contribution to the interpretation of a great and difficult part of the *Divine Comedy*, and has put into the hand of every student of the poem a sure lamp to guide him

through its many perplexities and difficulties. Many will offer silent gratitude for a book so inspiring, so full of guidance, so sure and safe. The book is just what it professes to be—an exposition: not simply another translation with notes, but a continuous exposition of the poet's thought, with interpretations, of striking and suggestive clearness, of the symbols, allusions, difficulties of the poem. Dr. Carroll, too, has a profound knowledge of the theology which is latent everywhere in the *Paradiso*, more so, of course, than in any other part of the poem, and this he interprets with great clearness and sympathy. This is just one of those few books which bring out the real inwardness of a great piece of literature, and lay bare its farthest secret; and it does it in such a way as that it is made intelligible not simply to the student, but to any reader who reads with patience and thought and care. The author's two previous studies have placed every lover of Dante under a great debt of obligation to him, this third will greatly deepen the obligation, and win for the beautiful work of his hero an ascendancy and power which must always be for refinement, guidance, and welfare.

Christ on Parnassus. Lectures on Art, Ethic, and Theology.

By Peter Taylor Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

We have never found Dr. Forsyth easy reading, and this book is in no way exceptional in this matter. It represents profound thought upon a great theme, and it has to be read when the mind is alert, and even then to be carefully pondered, if it is to yield its suggestive and revealing meaning. The writer, as every student knows, is a profound believer in the sovereign ascendancy of the Christian Spirit, that it is to lay its hand upon every aspect of man's manifold life, to mould it into its own character and to lift it into its own beauty and power. To vindicate this faith he has taken 'a great social product,'—art, and traced, in a series of very fascinating lectures, the subtle relations which everywhere exist between it and religion. In this Dr. Forsyth is not breaking up new ground—five-and-twenty years ago the present writer studied one of the finest collection of modern pictures ever made in England, under his illuminating guidance—but is expounding matters to which he has given constant and deep thought and sensitive appreciation and sympathy. The first part of the book is largely indebted to Hegel's *Aesthetik*—'the finest of all his works': the later part is more independent. Quite obviously the book covers a large field of study and interest, and has to do with matters which are not only interesting, but which are vital to the Christian Religion; but everywhere there is apparent a mind of wide and sure grasp, with ample knowledge and real sympathy, with a capacity to see real significances and to interpret them. The book will repay the most careful study, it will light up places that to very many have been shadowed, and will enlarge and enrich those interests which do so much to increase the joy of all thoughtful men.

One of the Multitude. By George Acorn. With Introduction by Arthur C. Benson. (Heinemann. 6s.)

This is the story of a London lad, brought up in one room in a low street and a stranger to anything like family affection, who has raised himself to a creditable position as a skilled cabinet-maker, made a happy home, and over and above all is conscious of the abiding presence of God. Mr. Benson assures us in his Introduction that 'the book is a piece of the authentic stuff of life.' To him it is 'wonderful and infinitely encouraging that a boy brought up in these conditions, or rather struggling up like a flower in a tangle of weeds, can yet preserve and maintain a real and deep innocence and purity of heart.' The boy was often awakened in the dead of night by his parents who were 'fighting without quarter or mercy.' He never remembered the time when the pawnshop was not the usual resort for cash. A love of reading and a humble little chapel were his salvation. He got visions of better things, and began to climb the ladder. Despite many a set-back he kept climbing, and when at last he mastered his trade and ventured to get a lodging for himself, he shook off the incubus of his home and found new joy in living. He made friends with a girl of kindred spirit who attended the same chapel, and home is now to him the dearest spot on earth. The story is told in a way that enlists a reader's sympathy, and helps him to realize what a fight this youth had to rise above his surroundings. It is a marvel how he did it, and we are grateful to him for taking us into his confidence.

The Bargain Book. By Charles Edward Jerningham and Lewis Bettany. (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d. net.)

This handsome volume, with nine plates and nine tabular charts, is a storehouse of good things. The whole range of the subject is covered by chapters on collecting, bargains, the ignorance of dealers and collectors, finds, thefts in the art world, tricks of dealers and collectors, &c. We are glad to notice not a few instances of scrupulous honour in dealing with ignorant clients, but there is much that shows how wary the owner of curios has to be if he would not be robbed of his treasures. We were inclined to think that 'the well-known sportsman' was exaggerating when he said that guests in his house asked what he would take for some picture or suite of furniture; but the later pages supply abundant confirmation of the letter. It is not easy to do justice to the surprises of this volume. The Phillpotts Porch in Truro Cathedral was built out of the proceeds of Romney's *Lady Hamilton* as 'The Comic Muse.' The Canon bought it for £80, sold it for £8,000, and gave half the money to build the porch which bears his name. Another clergyman was offered a Hopner for £10, but told his friend 'I am an honest man, and I am not going to rob you. Take my advice, sell the picture at auction.' He did so, and it was bought for £14,000. A Jacobite portrait glass was recently found in a Norfolk cottage by the landlord, who advised the owner not to sell it till he could get the market price, which was not less than £100. Treasures

are still to be found, and the Caledonian market, with its 'pitches,' has become quite a fashionable resort on Fridays. The curio-hunter is full of resource. One London dealer bought a house to secure a pair of Louis Seize vases which he had perceived on the drawing-room chimney-piece, and the vases not only paid for the house, but left a handsome margin. A leisure hour can be happily spent over this enthralling volume.

Ten more volumes have been added to *The Home University Library*. (Williams & Norgate. 1s. net.) Each has been specially written for the series by a recognized expert, and will bear the closest examination. Mr. Warde Fowler's *Rome* is a masterpiece. The whole story down to the reign of Marcus Aurelius is here, yet it is alive and illuminating. Prof. Pollard's *History of England* fastens skilfully on salient features such as 'The Expansion of England, The Industrial Revolution, English Democracy,' and helps us to see the whole movement of our history. *Peoples and Problems of India*, by Sir T. W. Holderness, describes the country, the people, the religions and the economic life in a way that will help every one to understand the vast work England has to do there. *Canada*, by A. G. Bradley, is the best little book we know on all matters connected with the Dominion. *Landmarks in French Literature*, by G. L. Strachey, is a handbook that we have all wanted. It lights up the whole course of French literature from the Middle Ages to our own time. *The School*, by Prof. J. J. Findlay, is 'An Introduction to the Study of Education.' It brings out the possibilities of a teacher's work, and shows how school should combine 'all worthy elements in the commonwealth for the sake of those who will maintain its life in days to come.' The Hon. Bertrand Russell's *Problems of Philosophy* is both clear and interesting. *Anthropology*, by R. R. Marett, discusses the antiquity of man, race, environment, language and kindred topics in a very instructive fashion. Mr. Dickson, President of the Royal Meteorological Society, writes on *Climate and Weather*, a popular subject, well handled. *Architecture*, by W. R. Lethaby, the architect to the Chapter of Westminster Abbey, describes the origins of the art, the various schools and its present opportunities. This is a book that every one should read, and they will be well repaid for doing so.

The Scope of Formal Logic. By A. T. Shearman, M.A., D.Lit., University of London Press. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1911. 5s. net.)

This volume by a distinguished expert in Logical Doctrine is one of the increasing number of signs that the critical spirit and method are not disposed to spare the most venerable and exact of the sciences. Logic has now its critics and reformers, who have presented such an extended treatment of the subject that they have almost created a new discipline. It is to the work of these logicians that Dr. Shearman, in his present discussion, gives special consideration. The three writers of the new school, whose work is most fully considered, are Frege, Peano, and Russell, who

'have contributed by far the greater share to the new doctrines.' Dr. Shearman's criticism is mostly towards a justification of the views of the newer group of logicians, which have already made a remarkable impression upon the philosophical world. But a great service of his book is that it sets forth the essential features of the new results in a series of expositions and illustrations, which seek to remove the difficulty, felt by interested students, arising from earlier obscurities of statement or insufficient illustration of the new doctrines. It is scarcely necessary to say that the book is for advanced students and teachers of Logic. Dr. Shearman's position as Examiner in the London University, and as a collaborator in the International edition of the Works of Leibnitz, as well as the place won by his former work on *The Development of Symbolic Logic*, entitle him to speak with authority on the philosophical and mathematical subjects he has made his own. Some of our readers will be pleased to recognize in Dr. Shearman a distinguished 'son of the manse'; and also a local preacher in his father's church.

Lectures on Poetry. By J. W. Mackail. (Longmans, Green, & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Prof. Mackail has made his five years' tenure of the Chair of Poetry at Oxford memorable by three volumes which contain all the lectures there delivered except a few of more transitory interest. Every lover of poetry is thus permitted to share in the delight of these lectures. In this volume the professor passes in review the most famous definitions of poetry and gives us his own. He regards it as 'formally and technically patterned language.' The essence of pattern is repeat, and where there is no repeat there is technically no poetry. 'Just as the technical art of poetry consists in making patterns out of language, so the vital function of poetry consists in making patterns out of life.' This it 'does by virtue of imagination, by the potency of the shaping spirit.' Imagination is central and most essential. That is really the framework of these lectures. One study after another shows that poetry must be in continual progress, like life, of which it is an interpretation. Gray described its progress 'from Greece to Italy, and from Italy to England,' and these lectures really light up that triumphant march from Virgil, who was 'the voice of Rome and of the whole Italian race,' who recognized in him not only their poet but their prophet and their interpreter. Nothing could be more illuminating than the study of the *Æneid* given here. It will surprise many to find that the next lectures are on Arabian poetry, but Prof. Mackail shows how it 'infused new blood, new forms, a new imaginative interpretation of life, into both the earlier French and the later and more centrally classic Italian poetry.' These lectures are of very special interest. Those devoted to the Divine Comedy and to Shakespeare's Sonnets and Romances move in more familiar places, but always with revealing words from which a student will find new guidance. 'The Poetry of Oxford' brings us to singers of our own generation. Dr. Mackail says 'Oxford has opened not only her gates, but her eyes; she is realizing the world. And no poetry

in future will be the poetry of Oxford in any full sense which does not take account of more than Oxford poetry has hitherto taken account of; which does not take account of those other lives whose destiny is included with ours, those without whom the readers could not read, nor the artists live.' 'Keats' is the subject of the most beautiful lecture in the volume—a full-hearted tribute to one who still points and urges poetry forward to an horizon still unreachd. These lectures add new charm to many of our favourite books of poetry, and suggest trains of thought and courses of study which will well repay careful working out. Prof. Mackail has added new dignity to the Chair of Poetry and made us all his debtors by the three masterpieces which will form the abiding memorial of his professorship.

Flashes from the Orient. Book Four—Winter. By John Hazlehurst. (Hazell, Watson and Viney. 1s. 6d. net.) There is a sonnet here for every winter's day, beginning with November 22. Mr. Hazlehurst loves birds, trees, and flowers, and can write a good sonnet on 'Joy.' He sees the beauty in a coster's barrow, and seems to find nothing human outside his province. The little book is one to muse over. It will make the reader use his eyes and mind.

Wind Flowers. A Book of Lyrics. By William Force Stead. (Stock. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is true poetry, full of thought put into words that have a music of their own. 'The Dead Men of Ollerton' is a plea for light on the future—

O dead men, rise and speak :
Say ye have seen but a streak
Of the sunrise of the Lord.

'Sweet Wild April' is full of spring flowers and bird-song, and the sonnet 'On the *Lusitania*: Westward Bound' lifts the veil and shows the place that humble emigrants fill in the making of the United States. Mr. Stead's pages will appeal to all lovers of verse.

Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. have issued an Author's complete edition of Stanley Weyman's novels in twenty volumes. They are small crown octavo volumes with gilt top (2s. net in dark red cloth, 8s. net in leather), uniform with the attractive set of Mr. Merriman's novels in fourteen volumes. The stories of French life have had great popularity, and they well deserve it. *A Gentleman of France* is unrivalled for sword play and adventure, whilst *Count Hannibal* makes the whole tragedy of the massacre of St. Bartholomew live before us. But the English stories have a quiet charm which makes them pleasant company. *Chippinge*, with its description of the riots in Bristol in the days of the Reform Bill, is a great favourite; *The New Rector*, with his difficulties in a country town, is an interesting story; *Sophia* is a vivid picture of the old days of intrigue and clandestine marriages; *The Castle Inn* is a story of the days of Earl Chatham, and the great statesman is one of the chief figures of the book. There is a great

deal of quiet enjoyment and not a little excitement to be got out of the stories. Mr. Weyman is a true artist with an eye for a situation, and every book shows with what skill and knowledge of the period he undertakes each successive task. Such an edition is a boon to all lovers of pure and good fiction.

The Healer. By Robert Herrick. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.). The story opens with a girl's accident and a clever surgeon's triumph of healing. Dr. Holden marries his patient and carries her off from her suburban home to the wilderness where he is known as 'The Healer.' Love reconciles her at first to her strange way of living, then the old world begins to pull her back, and in the end husband and wife leave each other to take their own road. She brings up her two girls; he fights disease in the city slums as he had fought it among half-breeds and settlers in the wilderness. We see two ideals of life in conflict, and there is much to be said for the woman's clinging to ways in which she had been brought up. She showed rare pluck in her first years of married life, but she had not strength to bear the load to the end. Nor do we wonder. Holden had the true healer's passion, 'The will to give all,' and though he swerved for a while from the path, he taught others to tread it. This is a story that appeals to thinkers. It is powerful and sometimes absorbing.

Hieronymus Rides, by Anna Coleman Ladd (Macmillan, 6s.), is the story of a knight and jester at the Court of Maximilian in the fifteenth century. The boy is really an illegitimate son of the Emperor Frederick IV and half brother to the King of the Romans. His boyhood spent with his great-grandfather, the alchemist, is not the least enthralling part of his story. His adventures in fighting the Turks and the Moors, his love affairs, his skill as a minstrel and jester, and the use which he makes of the imperial power during one glorious and fatal day make up such a story as one seldom reads. There is much force and beauty in the style, and the whole story has an old-world flavour which is very attractive.

Mr. Unwin publishes a new edition of *Life in an Indian Village* by T. Ramakrishna, B.A. (2s. 6d. net). It is an excellent account of a typical village, with its leading personages and its humbler folk. Those who wish to understand daily life in India should read this interesting little book.

The Unvarying East. By the Rev. E. J. Hardy, M.A.
With 24 Illustrations. (T. F. Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Hardy has travelled much in the East, and he gives the results of his observations on its agriculture, business, customs, climate and all phases of life and manners in his usual breezy style. He writes as one who realizes that 'the acquisition of knowledge of Eastern ways gives us, if not a Fifth Gospel, certainly a setting of the four we have, in newer and more clearly cut type.' The way in which the subject is set out is helpful, and the whole book is vivacious. It is not very deep, but it is stimulating, and will give many a useful hint to Bible students.

A tenth edition of *The Forest Trees of Britain* (S.P.C.K. 6s. net) by the Rev. C. A. Johns has been edited by G. S. Boulger. It has sixteen coloured plates and numerous other illustrations, and each tree is described in a way that tempts to personal observation and study. Thirty-eight pages are given to the oak, and the descriptions of other trees, though briefer, are adequate and always tell us what we want to know. It is a book for which the S.P.C.K. deserves the gratitude of every nature-lover.

Many of us would find life more perplexing if *Who's Who* (Black, 10s. net) ceased to guide us through the maze. It is now an English institution, with 24,000 brief biographies that cover 2864 pages. There is nothing like it, and much experience and constant care have made it a trustworthy and most valuable guide. *The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book* (1s. net) gives names and addresses of publishers in England and America, and is full of information that is indispensable. *Who's Who Year-Book* gives many particulars about churches, clubs, learned societies and motor-car signs. It is a companion that one is always glad to have at one's elbow. *The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1912, is divided into two parts: Education, Professions and Social Life; and Philanthropic and Social Work. The importance of such a guide was never more manifest than it is to-day.

Nisbet's Church Directory and Almanack, 1912. (Nisbet & Co. 2s. net.)

We always find this Directory useful. The alterations and additions number many thousands, and there is a Diary and General Information Section, besides the Alphabetical Directory of bishops and clergy of the United Kingdom, colonies, and foreign parts, and the list of benefices. There is no other publication of the kind anything like so cheap as this, and we do not wonder at the growth of its popularity with each annual issue since it first appeared twelve years ago.

The Methodist Who's Who, 1912. (C. H. Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.)

We welcome this enlarged and revised edition of this increasingly popular work of reference. It contains brief biographical sketches of ministers, ladies, and laymen prominently connected with all the branches of Methodism throughout the British Empire and the United States, and is indispensable as a home, ecclesiastical, and business manual. It will also serve as a bond of union between the scattered members of the world-wide Methodist household. In its present form the volume 'makes a wider appeal to members of other Churches and to all who wish to know something about Methodist men of the time.' They will find here much information that cannot elsewhere be gained. It is well edited, and up to date.

Bacon's Pocket World Atlas. By G. W. Bacon, F.R.G.S.
(Bacon & Co. 2s. 6d.)

Here are sixty-five maps with a South Polar chart, a full gazetteer, and general description of the countries of the world for half-a-crown. Everything is in the most compact and handy form, and brought quite up to date. We have used an earlier edition and have always found it thoroughly reliable; the new edition marks a distinct advance. It is a little World Atlas, as perfect as skill and care can make it.

The John Rylands Library: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Mediaeval Manuscripts and Jewelled Book Covers. (Manchester University Press. 6d. net.) Mr. Guppy and his colleagues prepared this Exhibition to signalize the visit of the Historical Association, and have arranged that it shall remain open throughout the year. The library now has 7,000 MSS., in addition to 170,000 printed books. Nearly 6,000 rolls, tablets, and codices formerly belonged to the Earl of Crawford. The Introduction is full of instructive matter, and brief descriptions of the chief treasures of the library and ten full-page illustrations give this Catalogue permanent interest. Those who cannot hope to visit Manchester would learn much from a quiet perusal of these pages. The library is itself becoming a great university, and its spirited librarian loses no opportunity of increasing its usefulness.

Mending Men. *The Adult School Press.* By Edward Smith, J.P. (Religious Tract Society. 1s. net.) These letters, written by a man brought under the influence of the Adult School Movement, cannot fail to make an impression. They show how fruitful for good it has been.

Mr. Murray has included in his Shilling Library Gordon Cumming's *Lion Hunter of South Africa*, an astonishing story of a sportsman's feats; Sir M. E. Grant Duff's *Notes from a Diary, 1851-1872*, which is full of colour and incident; *Aesop's Fables*, with more than a hundred illustrations by Tenniel and Wolf—a very attractive reprint; and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, by Miss Bird. It is a great gain to have this cheap edition of one of the classics of travel.

Names and Addresses of Circuit Stewards in Great Britain, 1912. (Methodist Publishing House. 6d. net.) These lists are compiled with great care and neatly printed in this useful booklet. It is one of the hand-books that a Methodist official cannot do without.

The Male Choir, by Ira D. Sankey and George C. Stebbins (Morgan & Scott, 6d. net.), is a cheap edition that should widely extend the usefulness of this most useful hymn and tune-book.

Waves and Ripples in Water, Air, and Aether. By J. A. Fleming, D.Sc. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net.) This is a second and revised issue of Prof. Fleming's Christmas lectures at the Royal Institution. They were delivered ten years ago, but the subject is always fresh. The treatment here is a happy combination of the scientific and the popular.

Personality, by Dr. Momerie (Allenson, 6d.), is a welcome reprint of a notable work which cannot be too widely known and studied.

Matriculation Directory, January 1912 (1s. net.). A very useful little handbook issued by the University Correspondence College.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (January).—Sir Oliver Lodge pursues the Balfour-Bergson controversy in interesting fashion, concluding with this sentence: 'For my own part I am impressed with two things—first, with the reality and activity of powerful, but not almighty helpers, to whom we owe guidance and management and reasonable control; and next, with the fearful majesty of still higher aspects of the universe, infinitely beyond our utmost possibility of thought.' Prof. J. A. Thomson continues his inquiry *Is there one Science of Nature?* rejecting the idea that physical concepts of matter and energy exhaust the reality of nature. Prof. Ladd states and criticizes F. W. Myers's question *Is the Universe Friendly?* Bishop D'Arcy returns to the friendly controversy with Prof. Sanday concerning personality and space. He holds that the old puzzle of body and mind will never be solved by confusing the fundamental distinction between things in space and things not in space. A very instructive article on a recondite but interesting subject is that by Dr. Abelson on *Mysticism in Rabbinical Literature*. We must not omit to mention a new feature which promises to be of great use to students—*A Survey of Recent Philosophical and Theological Literature*, by Prof. Dawes Hicks. This number contains a useful instalment on philosophy.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—An able article of forty pages, worth more than the price of the whole number, is that on *The Value of Mysticism*, by Rev. O. C. Quick. The subject has been greatly overwritten of recent years, but we do not remember to have seen any better handling of the question 'What is the actual worth of mystical teaching in relation to faith and practice?' Rejecting the two extreme alternatives that the experience of the mystic is finally normative and the anti-mystical position which would reject special Divine manifestations as eccentricities or delusions, the writer suggests that the theology of the Incarnation of the Cross makes possible a mode of reconciliation between these extremes. His conclusion cannot, however, be summarized without doing injustice to it. Prof. H. J. White, a colleague of the late Bishop of Salisbury in his work on the Vulgate, pays a high and deserved tribute to his memory. Among the notes and studies, Dr. E. C. Selwyn shows at length that the baptismal, or what he call the 'sub-baptismal' interpretation of the Odes of Solomon finds a parallel in the earlier use of Isa. lx foll. in the Christian Church. Some of the symbolical references here detected seem to us to be forced. Father Conolly, in an able examination of the Odes of Solomon, joins Rendel Harris in the view that they are entirely Christian, as against Harnack, who holds them to be Jewish, with Christian interpolations.

Holborn Review (January).—The contents of this number are judiciously varied. A good subject is *The Psychology of a Camp-meeting*, and it is

intelligently handled by A. Victor Murray. Religious phenomena deserve to be studied and analysed, and the sneer refuted that when they are understood they disappear. Rev. Ernest Beet writes on one period of the mediaeval Papacy, a subject of which he is evidently making a prolonged and careful study. In another article Arnold Bennett is described as a new master in English fiction and as an annalist of the Five Towns likely to prove especially interesting to Primitive Methodist readers of light literature. Excellent articles of different types are those on *The Alleged Rabbinitism of St Paul*, *Evangelistic Song*, and *Recent Theology and Apologetics*, the last by Prof. Humphries. Prof. Peake's customary survey of theological literature still remains an important asset of the Review.

The Expositor (January and February).—The two opening articles in the first number for 1912 are worthy of their place—Princ. G. Adam Smith's on *The Natural Strength of the Psalms*, and Sir Alfred Dale's on *The Bible*. Both writers treat familiar subjects in distinguished and impressive fashion. Two articles by Sir W. Ramsay on *The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day* go to correct some current theories of St. Paul's teaching put forward by scholars possessed of more learning than sound religious judgement. Prof. Margoliouth and Dr. C. F. Burney both write on the new Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine, the latter in refutation of some of Prof. Sayce's arguments as to their bearing on Old Testament Criticism. Prof. Wensinck of Utrecht and Dr. Rendel Harris contribute to the discussion concerning the Odes of Solomon by an examination of the writings of Ephrem. Canon Driver continues his critical examination of the Book of Judges. Two strictly expository articles—more after the type that used to appear years ago in this magazine, a type beloved of many—are Prof. James Robertson's on *The 'Dawn' in Hebrew* and Prof. Anderson Scott's examination of the phrase *As truth is in Jesus*. The latter is an ancient crux, that we have pondered many a time without complete satisfaction, and we question whether the rendering 'as is actual fact in the case of Jesus,' upheld by Prof. Scott, furnishes the true solution. 2 Cor. vii. 14 is in his favour as an illustration of this use of ἀληθεία, but we see more objections to his view than can be briefly stated.

The Expository Times (January and February).—The editor's notes touch on such diverse topics as the practical application of the Sermon on the Mount; How much must a man believe to be called a Christian? a sermon on the text 'He closed the book'; and Prof. Royce's account of the really vital elements in Christianity. The kind of treatment to which these great themes are subjected—suggestive, not systematic—is probably just such as the many ministerial readers of this periodical desire. The chief articles in the two numbers are *Spiritual Power*, by H. A. Watson; *Archaeology of Genesis*, by Prof. Sayce; *Dr. Schweitzer on the Interpretation of St. Paul*, by Prof. Montgomery; and Dr. Kelman's continued exposition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. But there is provided an abundance of other useful matter, including the *Great Text Commentary* and multitudinous 'contributions and comments' on Biblical subjects.

In the *Quarterly* for January there are several articles of general interest, notably *The Elizabethan Reformation*, by Prof. J. P. Witney; *The Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, by Dr. A. W. Ward; *The Philosophy of Bergson*, by Mr. Sydney Waterlow; and *New Light on George Sand*. The anonymous writer of the last-named paper describes the great French novelist as 'A fiery and generous heart spent in the service of idealism. . . . She had pity upon mankind. The pain of the world stung her; she could not away with the misery and crime that abounded. The defect and shame were felt to be solidary; she had no care to conceive her own welfare apart from that of all. . . . It was she, and not Balzac, who stirred the problems of Ibsen and Tolstoy in advance, urging the freedom of woman to be noble, and the social reparation that springs from the sense of fraternity. . . . She lived by admiration, and looked for the triumph of the good, the fair, the true.'

Perhaps the most important article in the *Edinburgh Review* (January and March) is the one on *The Sovereignty of the Air*, and the most delightful is that on *Chatham and the Country Life of his Day*. Neither can easily be summarized, but both are more than ordinarily worth the reading. Other articles of note are *Auguste Rodin and his French Critics*, and *The Wessex Drama*, founded on a fine French book on Thomas Hardy, by M. Hedgecock, and the new pocket edition of Mr. Hardy's novels.

There is not much of special interest in the current *Dublin Review* (January-March), unless it be Father Benson's curious paper on *Phantasms of the Dead*, and Father Gannon's on *The Religion of Thackeray*, in which this learned Jesuit arrives at the conclusion that 'He felt, as few other English writers have felt, that hunger of the heart which leads the saints to God. But his mind was of that sceptical kind which perceives the negatives of life with painful clearness. That Thackeray was attracted by much in the Church of Rome is clear and demonstrable; but it is equally certain that many things repelled him, and that he could always find abundant reasons for not admitting her claims.'

The Church Quarterly (January).—Dr. Illingworth writes a beautiful little paper on *Harry Drew of Hawarden*. "He was a monument of God's grace," said his bishop, and no reader of this memoir can fail to be uplifted and enkindled by his stainless, energetic, disciplined, beautiful soul.' The article on *Richard Crashaw and Mary Collet* is of peculiar interest, and gives a long letter written by the poet in 1643 which has recently been discovered.

The Nineteenth Century for January has a depreciatory article on Maeterlinck, by the Abbé Ernest Dimnet, in which he says that the great Belgian essayist and dramatist has been 'enormously overrated.' He thinks that his popularity has been attained by the same means as those by which second-rate novelists and dramatists reach their vogue with the masses of unthinking people, and that, if his teachings were as clear as they are obscure they would not be accepted by three in ten of his professed admirers. 'He is most distinctly a literary man of no superior degree,' a

dictum that will hardly be endorsed by readers of *Wisdom and Destiny*, to say nothing of *The Blue Bird*, or *Mary Magdalene*. Assent will more readily be given to the writer's declaration that 'there never is literary excellence where there is no moral or intellectual superiority to begin with.' This, of course, is a truism, and begs the question as to Maeterlinck's qualities. But the following sentence, which sums up the Abbé's indictment, may be pondered with profit: 'A moral philosophy in which God is only a name, from which the notion of immortality and that of self-sacrifice is absent, and through which the anarchism inherent in the search for happiness at all costs is on the contrary omnipresent, only appeals to the unhappy few.'

In the *Cornhill* for January, Sir Algernon West draws a charming picture of his life-long friend, the late Lord James of Hereford, and thus dilates upon his skilful and delightful generosity: 'While James was still a young and a comparatively poor man he had made in his profession about £1,500 or £2,000; hearing of the death of a school-fellow, who had left his widow in a state of destitution, he at once made over to her the whole of his savings. On another occasion he unexpectedly came into a considerable sum, and said to Sir Frances Mowatt: 'I am going to give myself a treat—I shall distribute it all in lots of £100 and £200 each upon some poor fellows who I know will be the happier for it. . . . Munificence in every direction, presents of large sums of money to those who had lost theirs, and infinite delight in assisting the poor, characterized his life. He felt an intense pleasure in doing these things, and did them well and delicately. If the doing of a kindness involved a little harmless intrigue his pleasure was the greater.' The February number has an interesting paper by Canon Rawnsley, in which he records his *Memoirs of the Tennysons at Somersby*. These are not personal memoirs, of course, but reminiscences of the Tennysons gathered by the learned canon from the older residents of the locality. Everybody, he says, remembered 'th'owd doctor,' who was 'the greatest scholar hereabout, the clivverest man i' these parts; a great tall man with a foot thirteen inches long, quite a furrin-looking gentleman, brown i' the eyes, brown i' the head, brown i' the skin; fond o' tobacco, and as for his sermons i' chuch they were ower good and ower short. But a kindly man wi'owt a bit o' pride in him, and though th'owd doctor mud be high-larnt, he wud nivver hurt a hair of any man's head. But he was all for study, and maade the boys stay in a deal mornin's and night. . . .' Sir Henry W. Lucy continues his *Sixty Years in the Wilderness*, and has many piquant things to say respecting Sir Charles Dilke and Prof. Blackie. There is a beautiful little paper on *Lanoe Falconer*.

In *Blackwood* for January, Mr. Bernard Holland, replying to criticisms of his *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, adds some particulars of the duke's more private life. The account of his marriage is specially interesting. 'On the 16th of August, 1892,' he writes, 'I went to Devonshire House as usual in the morning. The duke soon appeared, looking unusually well-dressed, with a white waistcoat, and gave me some instructions about work. An hour later or so he came in again, gave me more instructions, and said

he was going down to Bolton Abbey. He added: "I suppose you have heard of the domestic event?" I said indifferently, "Yes," thinking of quite another matter. He looked rather surprised, said no more, and went away. Soon afterwards Lascelles told me that, in the interval between these two visits, the duke had been married at the Down-street church to the Duchess of Manchester. I had heard nothing previously. I suppose it was the brevity and uninterested tone of my answer which surprised him when I said "Yes." I wrote to apologize, and heard afterwards that the misunderstanding had amused the duke when he read my explanation.' *A Lost Letter in Ancient Rome* is one of those delightful satires for which Blackwood, almost from the beginning, has had a world-wide reputation. Readers of the February number will greatly enjoy its cryptic references to contemporary celebrities, and the least acute need not mistake the portrait of Mr. Balfour.

' Well, yes ! in Brutus I record
A champion equal to my sword ;
Praised, envied, blamed, abused, admired
Of course (but most when he retired),
None could match Brutus in debate ;
His style was worthy of the State,
The Patriot Party's helm and shield—
But Brutus now has left the field.'

It should be said that the Letter is supposed to be from Cicero to Atticus; that Mr. Asquith receives amusing treatment under the name of Ponsonby; and that Lord Rosebery is made to portray himself, perhaps too faithfully, as the writer of the letter. Another good article in this excellent number is the one by Dr. Mahaffy on *What is Nationality?*

The *English Review*, now published at a shilling, keeps up its quality. In the February number Mr. John Masefield has a poem of fifty pages called *The Widow in the Bye Street*. This is followed by a third instalment of Mr. Frederic Harrison's causerie, *Among my Books*, in which he writes of Dante, Boccaccio, *Don Quixote*, the French Fabliaux, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Then there are stories by Mr. John Galsworthy and Mr. George Moore, and an article of considerable importance on *The Breakdown of Turkey*, by Dr. Dillon, who thinks that 'it is hardly too much to say that the entire Turkish race is degenerating visibly; its life-sap is drying up. . . . The main causes of the decay lie tolerably near the surface. Leaving on one side fatalism and the sluggishness it engenders, I would account for the enfeeblement of the race, which was once marvellously robust and healthy, by misgovernment and military service. Misrule unfitted them for the struggle for life by making them dependent on Christian labour for their livelihood, and on the State for their privileged condition, while military service decimated the people. The Turks, in their twofold capacity as the conquering race and as Moslems, have looked upon the profession of arms as their own special vocation, and disqualified Christians from following it; and having lived by the sword, they are now perishing by the sword.

Within the memory of the present generation Turkey has always been at war. There has been no respite: now the struggle was with a foreign Power, now with a section of her own subjects.'

The Quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January is one of special interest. P. J. Baldensperger says that in Jerusalem disputes among the natives are generally harmless: 'a few curses and more or less insults, where the worst are of course such as concern the women. But they have rarely a tragic termination, whereas in Jaffa the knife is more easily drawn, and the seamen are known for their courage and their spirit of vengeance.' Murders are almost unknown in Jerusalem. The men are of a quiet disposition, rarely carry arms, and are seldom seen out of the gates or suburbs after sunset. The moral tone is low. 'Vices of all kinds are universal, and there is hardly any distinction between the inhabitants of the towns and of the country.' In Jerusalem the natives are decently clothed. The turban is considered holy, and is carefully removed when the wearer wishes to lie down. The Mohammedan of Jerusalem wears a turban of fine white linen. It is never disarranged, and cannot easily tumble off. Feet and shoes are both regarded as vile. 'Prayers are never said by a man with his shoes on, and it is a sign of great disrespect to talk about the head and turban or beard without an interruption for the shoes.' It is rather amusing to read that 'those who pray regularly are also as a rule very clean as regards both their clothes and body.' Beards are much venerated, and in Jerusalem they are the longest. On Friday most Moslems go to the mosque, where sermons are repeated from eleven to twelve. The whole number is full of things that a Bible reader is glad to know.

The Child (December).—Dr. Kelynaek has a keen eye for good material, and everything affecting the physical and moral health of a child is welcomed to this magazine. *Milk Problems* and *Infantile Mortality and Home Visitation* are discussed by experts in a very instructive way. Dr. Riviere writes on *Punishment in Childhood*. He says 'the cutting off of meals and use of the dark-room are to be strongly deprecated. Meals should never be interfered with either directly or by prolonging detention into meal-times. The dark-room is a cruel and dangerous form of correction for children; to use as a means of punishment those superstitious fears which readily torture the mind, and undermine the health of childhood is a truly barbarous remedy.'

The Moslem World (January).—This quarterly has special importance in view of the awakened interest in the evangelization of Moslem lands, and we hope that it will be well supported. The brief but valuable article on *Islam in Nyasaland* shows that Mohammedanism has spread because there has been nothing to keep it from spreading. The Christian Church has not done what it might to stem the invasion. The Symposium on *The Nearest Way to the Moslem Heart* will repay careful study, and there is much else of interest in this varied number.

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (January).—Prof. E. C. Moore of Harvard contrasts the modern liberal movement in Christianity with that of the eighteenth century. He pleads that the liberals of to-day are more constructive than their predecessors, but his argument is hampered by the underlying impossibility of defining 'liberalism.' We agree, however, with his last sentence, that if the liberals of to-day cannot learn from the errors of a century ago, the more shame to them. A characteristic American topic is that of the second article, which proposes to increase the efficiency of Churches in practical and business matters by the application of 'scientific' methods. Prof. Adams Brown's essay on *The Place of Christianity in Modern Theology* is distinctly valuable. Defenders of the faith are not allowed to-day to take the position Dr. Fairbairn took twenty years ago in his well-known book published under that title. Dr. Adams Brown shows why; and without taking a purely apologetic attitude, he meets very successfully certain challenges thrown down against orthodoxy on philosophical, historical, and critical grounds. His reasoning is frank, candid, and cogent. *The Movement and Mission of American Christianity* is discussed by Prof. D. S. Schaff, who is more competent than most to write upon it. But does 'American Christianity' as yet possess a distinctive unity of its own? *The Restoration of Immersion in 1640-1700* raises the question whether the mode of immersion employed by Baptists to-day is the same as that adopted by John the Baptist and Jesus Himself. The critical notes and notices, as is usual in this Review, are particularly good of their kind.

The Princeton Review (January) contains three articles—*The Hymn of the First Chapter of Luke*, by J. Gresham Machen; *The Development of the English Hymn*, by Louis J. Benson; and *The 'Dutch States-Bybel' of 1637*, by Henry E. Dosker, together with ample reviews of recent literature.

The Methodist Review (New York: January and February) contains an appreciation of Bishop Goodsell by Dr. R. J. Cooke; *The Mission of Methodism to the Latin Races*, by Bishop Burt; *Maeterlinck the Mystic*, by Prof. Oscar Kuhns; *Doctrinal Requirements for Membership in the M. E. Church*, by Dr. Flint—an argument against a too stringent doctrinal subscription; and *The New Orthodoxy*, by L. H. Hough. The last-named writer contends that the older orthodoxy was inadequate in its view of the Bible and religious authority, that Modernism is inadequate in its conception of Sin, the Cross, and the Person of Christ, but that what he calls the new orthodoxy may remedy these deficiencies and 'face the future unafraid.'

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (January).—The editor, Dr. Gross Alexander, writes on *The Social Teaching of the Old Testament*; Prof. Adams Brown, of New York, on *Modern Theology and the Preaching of the Gospel*, an article in which the writer seeks to show that modern theology brings no new gospel with it, but the old gospel set in so fresh a light as to make it new. Chancellor Burwash gives an instalment of a discussion on *Wesley's*

Relation to Theological Standards. Miss Belle Bennett writes on *The Liberation of Woman*, and Mrs. Gross Alexander on *George Eliot and Mrs. Browning*. The paper read by Dr. Maldwyn Hughes of this country at the Occumenical Conference in Toronto, entitled *Christianity and Recent Philosophical Tendencies*, is here republished. It is good, but necessarily so short as to be inconclusive. It deals with Pragmatism, Bergson, and Eucken in less than a couple of pages.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) for January contains *Paul as Interpreter of Christ*, by A. T. Robertson; *The Thousand Year Reign*, by J. A. Faulkner; *Constantine in Relation to Christianity*, by J. H. Barber; and an examination of our Lord's use of the phrase *These Little Ones* by Dr. Eaches. The writer holds that the expression means not children, but disciples—a view which probably commends itself readily to readers of the Baptist persuasion.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—In the January number the first article on *The Philosophy and Theology of Old Testament Critics* is by Prof. Knudson. In the writer's opinion un-Christian philosophical and theological views have not directly influenced the main conclusions of historical critics of the Old Testament, but those views or presuppositions have frequently determined their estimate of the religious contents of the Old Testament. 'God is not present everywhere, among all peoples, in the same sense and to the same degree. He came nearer to Israel than to other nations. . . . From this point of view the work of Old Testament criticism must be revised and carried on.' The alternatives presented in the title *Social or Individual Regeneration?* are not so mutually exclusive as might appear from some sentences in the article. It is possible to hold that civilization needs to be based upon Christianity and yet to deny that the gospel bids a man regard 'his soul-concern as his sole concern.' Some good points are made by Principal Lerch as he discusses *Nietzsche Madness*. Nietzsche's antagonism to Christianity is traced sometimes to misunderstanding and sometimes to ignorance of the spirit of its ethical teaching. 'Nietzsche despises it because its kingdom is not of this world. He does not seem to be aware that though it has the forward look, the earth is its habitation, and seat of its activity. . . . Nietzsche was far more of a recluse than Christ.' Writing on *The Ministry of Pain*, Dr. Merrins of Wuchang shows that pain is the price paid for the fullness and security of physical life. 'There is ample ground for holding that the ministry of physical pain has been most beneficial, and that as the race advances in wisdom and in kindness, it will at last almost cease to be a problem.'

Harvard Theological Review.—More than half of the January number (90 pages) is occupied by a review of *The International Critical Commentary on Genesis, Chronicles, and the Psalms*. The article is, however, much more than a review, it is an exceedingly able outline of the history of Old Testament criticism in the last hundred years. It is written by Prof. Kemper Fullerton, of Oberlin Theological Seminary. Much attention is given to the theories of Wellhausen, Winckler, and Gunkel. The conclusion reached

concerning Genesis is that 'there is more basis for the traditional view of the religion of Israel than has been commonly admitted by critical scholars of the past generation. But to urge this as an earnest of ultimate complete vindication for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and of rehabilitation of the dogmatic conception of the Old Testament is to pervert the results of scientific investigation.' Dr. Kuno Francke writes on *Mediaeval German Mysticism*, and describes Master Eckhart, Heinrich Suso, and Johannes Tauler, regarding them as 'three of the most pronounced personalities produced by the mystic longing for the merging of personality in the Divine.' Prof. Schaub of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, contributes an article on *The Consciousness of Sin*, arguing that it is 'not a pathological state that signifies moral degeneration.' On the contrary, it is 'significant of progress in the spiritual life of man and of development in the history of religions.'

FOREIGN

In the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (January-March) there is another of those learned articles which M. Lemonnier is contributing, on *The Worship of Strange Gods in Israel*—this time on Ashera. There is also a valuable paper on *Judgements of Value and the Positive Conception of Morality*, by M. Gillet, O.P. But the chief interest of this number is to be found in the two extended Bulletins—the one relating to Philosophy, and the other to Biblical Theology. All important recent literature in these two departments of study is passed in review, and questions like the theory of knowledge, pragmatism, &c., are treated at length. There is an excellent critical appreciation of Dr. Percy Gardner's *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, and of Prof. Scott's Canadian book on *The Kingdom and the Messiah*. The notices of recent French and German works on Old Testament Theology are of special interest and worth.

An important study of Bergson, by M. Edouard le Roy, begins in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 1, under the title of *Une Philosophie Nouvelle*. This first instalment deals only with Bergson's method, but it opens with this general remark: 'His work marks a date that will be noted in history; it opens a phase of metaphysical thought; it lays down a principle of development to which it is impossible to assign a limit; and, without exaggeration it may be said that the revolution it is effecting is as important as that of Kant or Socrates.'

Analecta Bollandiana. Tomus xxi. Fasc. i.—This quarterly is itself a monument to the learning and zeal of the Society of Bollandists. It begins with a note on the Georgian version of the Autobiography of Denys the Aréopagite found in the convent of Iberia. The manuscript is described, with notes on passages of special interest. The Greek text of a panegyric of *S. Theophane le Chronographe* is given, with an introduction, catalogues of learned works, notices of recent hagiographical works, and other matter of peculiar interest to those who love these by-ways of ecclesiastical history.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—The January number contains an interesting sketch of *Jacob Behmen : a Prophet of German Evangelical Inwardness*. Its author is Pfarrer Hermann Maas, who quotes, as the text of Behmen's writings, his saying : 'The philosopher's stone, the precious, costly stone, by whose aid all things in heaven and earth are discovered, is hidden in man. He who finds it in himself has power to bless the world and to experience the highest joy in the anguish of death.' Maas shows that Behmen starts from the inward consciousness of sin and the inward experience of regeneration. 'In the new birth he finds the philosopher's stone.' But Behmen is an evangelical and not a catholic mystic, because he inculcates no monkish flight from life, but teaches that 'life and the emotions are the firewood without which the flame of divine life can in no wise manifest itself.' Without judging Behmen as severely as did Wesley, we are unable to join in the approval of Behmen's sharp separation between Jesus as an historical personality and Christ as an inner fact of faith. Maas writes as an enthusiastic admirer of Behmen, and his study is most instructive even to those whose appreciation is more discriminating. 'Behmen was a reaction of the universal spirit of Christianity against the oneness in dogmatics which was the result of the oneness of reason.' Lic. Karl Dunkmann faces the question of paramount importance : *How can Christianity be both an historical and an absolute religion?* After an able criticism of modern views held to be defective, Dunkmann finds the distinctive feature of the Christian religion to be that 'man is a recipient'; he is exhorted 'to trust the word of God, that is to say, the promise of the forgiveness of sins in Christ.' The absolute element in the Christian religion is not culture; it is not any self-accomplished deed, nor any kind of self-redemption. The absolute and the historical are not at variance. Whilst we ought not to be slaves of history, we ought not to regard history as a burden. Dr. Max Wiener contributes to this number an erudite article on *The Logic of Religious Metaphysics*, Dr. Lehman endeavours to define *The Position of the History of Religion in the Philosophy of Religion*. It is held to be the task of the philosophic theologian not only to pursue his investigations into theories of knowledge and morals, as well as to study the psychology of religion, but also to inquire systematically into the history of religions and especially into the origin of religious ideas. As religions are better known, and the historic method is applied to theology, the necessity of those preparatory investigations which belong to the philosophy of religion ought to be emphasized.

Theologische Rundschau.—*The Relation of Faith to the Person of Jesus* is discussed by Dr. Beth in the January number. The writers specially in view are Bousset, Wobbermin, and Troeltsch. Amongst the positions defended are the following : Ideas cannot in and by themselves alone be made the criteria for judging religion and religious personalities; uncertainties in the Gospel narratives do not justify the sounding of the signal for retreat from the historic Jesus to the Christ of faith as portrayed by the early Church; it comes perilously near to surrendering to those who deny the historicity of Jesus if He be described as 'the permanent and operative symbol of our faith.' Troeltsch holds that one of the clearest results of

the historical study of religion is that the essence of religion consists neither in dogma nor ideas, but in worship and communion. By communion, however, is meant 'living fellowship with God, and indeed the fellowship of the community with God.' Beth rightly replies that living fellowship can obtain only between the individual and God; the community holds religious fellowship through its individual representative. 'Prayer and edifying fellowship are, in a spiritual religion, functions which have value only so far as they are individual activities. For such communion the individual must have his own particular qualifications and to it he must himself be drawn, whether that communion does or does not take place in an assembly for worship. Indeed, were it otherwise, were religion in itself predominantly a function of the community, what could be said of the religion of Jesus, our Exemplar?' The basal error in many 'liberal' interpretations of Christianity is the idea that a religion can subsist without any remembrance of its personal founder. It is true that a religion is living only in so far as it develops; indeed the evolution of a religion is the evidence of its life. But it is also true that if the evolution is to proceed on right lines, its original form must be borne in mind. Christianity's capacity for evolution is conditioned by the lines firmly drawn at its origin. At the beginning it was not a religion of ideas; its founder was a person.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 2, Niebergall reviews a book entitled *Christianity on its Sick-Bed*. It contains 'the thoughts of a physician about religion and the revival of the Church.' Niebergall's effective criticism is that if the physician-author be treated as a patient according to his own method, the diagnosis would be 'Intellectualism, pantheistic and feverish,' and the prescription would be 'an intelligent understanding of religion, the Christian religion, and the faith of a Christian.' No 3 contains an interesting report of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the American Society of Biblical Literature, recently held in New York. Prof. Hyvernat of the Washington Roman Catholic University announced that Mr. Pierpont Morgan had bought about fifty Coptic manuscripts found by Arabs amongst the ruins of a small convent in the south-west Fayum. The manuscripts show the nature and variety of the contents of a convent library in Christian Egypt. The oldest manuscript is dated A.D. 825 and is older than any known Coptic manuscript. Prof. Hyvernat is of opinion that all other known Coptic manuscripts are not of half the value of the Morgan collection; so that New York is likely to become 'the centre of Coptic studies.' The publication of the manuscripts, edited by Prof. Hyvernat, a distinguished Coptic scholar, will be awaited with interest. Prof. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper dealing with *The Quotations from the New Testament in the Odes of Solomon*. In verses regarded by Harnack and Spitta as Jewish he finds citations from the New Testament. Moreover, the citations from the Old Testament are chiefly from the Psalms and the theological portions of the Wisdom literature, that is to say from those books with which the early Church was most familiar. Prof. Montgomery supports the view that the Odes are the product of Christian thought.





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